

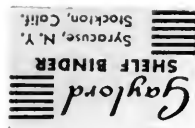
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# THE DOUBLE EDGE OF LABOR'S SWORD

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Discussion and Testimony  
on  
**Socialism and Trade-Unionism**  
before the  
Commission on Industrial Relations

BY

MORRIS HILLQUIT  
SAMUEL GOMPERS  
and MAX J. HAYES

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Price, 25 Cents

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CHICAGO

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Socialist Party, National Office



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# INTRODUCTION

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On the 23rd day of August, 1912, Congress passed an act creating a commission known as the Commission on Industrial Relations. The act provided among other things that "the Commission shall inquire into the general condition of labor in the principal industries of the United States, including agriculture, and especially those which are carried on in corporate forms; into existing relation between employers and employes \* \* \* into the growth of associations of employers and wage-earners and the effect of such associations upon the relations between employers and employes \* \* \* into any methods which have been tried in any state or in foreign countries for maintaining mutually satisfactory relations between employees and employers \* \* \*. *The Commission shall seek to discover the underlying causes of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation and report its conclusions thereon.*"

It was one of the most striking measures of modern legislation involving, as it did, an official recognition of the existence of a general and chronic industrial unrest and representing the first attempt at a general stock-taking of industrial conditions and relations in the United States.

The act specified that the Commission "shall be composed of nine persons, to be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, not less than three of whom

shall be employers of labor and not less than three of whom shall be representatives of organized labor."

On June 26, 1913, President Wilson named the following persons as members of the Commissions. On the part of the public: Frank P. Walsh, a well-known lawyer of Kansas City, Missouri, to serve as President of the Commission; Professor John R. Commons, the noted sociologist of Madison, Wisconsin, and Mrs. J. Borden Harriman of New York. On the part of the employers: Frederick A. Delano, railway president of Chicago, Illinois; Harris Weinstock, merchant, author and social worker, of Sacramento, California, and S. Thurston Ballard, capitalist, of St. Louis, Missouri. On the part of organized labor: John B. Lennon and James O'Connell, both officers of the American Federation of Labor and Austin B. Garretson, President of the Order of Railway Conductors.

The Commission was given wide powers, including the power of holding public hearings in all parts of the United States and compelling the attendance of witnesses. It has held many interesting hearings and has brought to light much valuable information on the relations and struggles between the employing and the working classes in the United States. But the hearing which will probably remain most memorable in the annals of the American labor movement was that held in the City of New York on May 21, 22 and 23, 1914, and which had for its object the study of the aims, methods and mutual relations of the main divisions of organized labor. The Socialist Party, the American Federation of Labor, and the Industrial Workers of the World, were each requested to designate spokesmen for their respective organizations, and the representatives so chosen were as follows: For the Socialist Party—Morris Hillquit, Chairman of its National Committee; for the American Federation of Labor—Samuel Gompers, its President; for the In-

dustrial Workers of the World—Vincent St. John, its Secretary-Treasurer. Additional witnesses at the hearing were: Max S. Hayes, a prominent member of the Socialist Party as well as of the American Federation of Labor; Mr. Joseph Ettor, a representative of the Industrial Workers of the World, and Mr. F. G. R. Gordon, a former Socialist, who appeared at the hearing in behalf of the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Gordon's "testimony" was brief and had practically no relation to the subject under discussion. The testimony of Vincent St. John and Joseph Ettor was entirely confined to the aims and methods of the Industrial Workers of the World, and contributed little, if anything, to the study of the mutual relations between Socialism and trade unionism in the United States. These relations were treated by Messrs. Hillquit, Gompers and Hayes, and their "testimony" represents the most exhaustive discussion of the subject ever published. For the first time authoritative spokesmen of the two great divisions of the American labor movement, the political and the economic, met face to face under official auspices to compare their views, aims and methods. No limits were set by the Commission; the "witnesses" spoke frankly and freely, without restraint or reserve. The proceedings were particularly enlivened by the mutual cross-examination of Messrs. Hillquit and Gompers, which occupied the better part of the hearing and held the audience in unabated, almost spell-bound attention from start to finish. It was not a hostile encounter, nor was it purely a battle of wits. On the whole it was an earnest search for the truth punctured now and then by good-natured mutual thrusts. Mr. Samuel Gompers, as one of the most typical representatives of the old-line, pure-and-simple trade unionists attempted to disclaim any connection, physical or spiritual, between the trade union movement and the Socialist movement, between the economic and the

political organizations of the workers. Mr. Morris Hillquit, taking the official stand of the Socialist Party, endeavored to prove the identity of aims and interests of both divisions of the labor movement, and the necessity of their mutual co-operation on the fields of political as well as economic battle. The numerous involuntary concessions made by Mr. Gompers on his cross-examination are among the most amusing and significant features of the discussion.

The succeeding pages contain a stenographic account of the "testimony" and cross-examination of Messrs. Hillquit, Gompers and Hayes. A number of insignificant corrections have been necessitated by stenographer's errors and by occasional lapses or loose wording of statements on the part of witnesses. But these corrections are purely verbal. The publishers have been careful to preserve the form as well as the spirit and substance of the discussion without adding or subtracting anything and with all the directness and spontaneity with which it was presented before the Commission.

It is the sincere conviction of the publishers that the reading of this unique discussion will contribute materially to a better understanding between the Socialists and the trade unionists of the country, and this booklet is published for the equal benefit of both.

New York, September, 1914.

## FIRST SESSION.

### Aims and Methods of the Socialist Movement

The First Session was held in the City Hall, in the City of New York. Mr. Frank P. Walsh, Chairman of the Commission, presided, and the following members of the Commission were present, besides the chairman: John B. Lennon, Mrs. J. Borden Harri- man, Austin B. Garretson, James O'Connell, S. Thurston Ballard and Frederick A. Delano.

Mr. William O. Thompson, counsel to the Com- mission, conducted the examination.

The first meeting was opened at 10 A. M.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: The Commission will please come to order. Mr. Thompson.

MR. THOMPSON: Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission: In the Act creating this Commis- sion you are directed by Congress, among other things, to inquire into the existing organizations of labor, and also into their effect on the industrial situation. In obedience to that direction, we have for our public hearings, in the next two days, the subject of the American Federation of Labor, the Socialist Party, and the Industrial Workers of the World. These have been selected as being three representative organizations of labor, in this coun- try, and we have thought it wise to hear them together.

In the hearing on this subject it has been thought best to put on the principal representatives of the respective parties, who may state, as we might say,

their platform; and as these organizations cover, as we know, a good deal of the same field, to recall these representatives and give them an opportunity to comment upon the reasons for their existence, which may call for some comments on the part of the other parties. It is the desire, as I understand, of this Commission, to permit these witnesses this opportunity. For that reason, Mr. Chairman, I would like to call on Mr. Gompers for a statement of the principles and purpose of the American Federation of Labor.

MR. GOMPERS: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Commission: I have not heard the entire statement of Mr. Thompson as to the procedure contemplated in the special investigation that is about to be undertaken. I have seen statements published in the public press as to the nature of the investigation about to be undertaken; and if there be any proper inferences to be drawn from those statements, it seems to be that the Federation is to be made the subject for analysis and for dissection. So far as I am concerned, as the President of the American Federation of Labor, I have no hesitancy in saying that we welcome any attack or criticism or abuse, that any one may care to launch against the American Federation of Labor; and I shall endeavor then to answer it. I am free to say this, now, that I come in answer to the subpoena of this Commission with the intention of playing the game open and fair, and with the cards upon the table. But I do not want to have it appear upon the record that I have introduced matters which may seem to be extraneous to the investigation. And yet these same themes are the subject of general discussion among the opponents of the American Federation of Labor, those who do not understand, and those who may understand it and have some peculiar kink in their reasoning powers, and consequently are

scarcely responsible for their utterances regarding the American Federation of Labor. But be they as they may, I think that the existing organizations of the American working people to-day are entitled to know what we are officially called upon to meet. I feel that it is a matter of right which I owe to the American Federation of Labor, an organization which has been in existence for more than 33 years, to know what the organization has to meet by way of criticism or antagonism from its opponents. As I say, I may not have the right to bring in here matters which, unless they are on the record, would be regarded as extraneous, and as having been simply thrust in on my part. And I have no hesitancy in believing that the opponents of the American Federation of Labor will only welcome the opportunity of launching all their attacks and criticisms against us.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: I will try to reply to your suggestions, Mr. Gompers. I will state, as Judge Thompson started out to say, and state properly the program for to-day:

Morning session: Samuel Gompers, statement of purposes and methods of the American Federation of Labor, forty minutes.

Morris Hillquit, statement of purposes and methods of Socialist Party, forty minutes.

Vincent St. John, statement of purposes and methods of Industrial Workers of the World, forty minutes.

Afternoon session: Vincent St. John (recalled).

Criticism of the other organizations:

Joseph Ettor, extension of Mr. St. John's criticism, on the basis of practical experience.

F. R. G. Gordon, statement on behalf of the American Federation of Labor.

Friday, morning session: Max Hayes, statement from the point of view of a prominent member

of the Socialist Party, who is also active in the support of the A. F. of L.

Joseph W. Sullivan, statement on behalf of the American Federation of Labor.

Afternoon session: Morris Hillquit, Vincent St. John, Samuel Gompers, recalled in rebuttal.

The proposition is this, Mr. Gompers, that if you haven't already been informed that there is, of course, a difference of opinion, not only among the various organizations that are mentioned and called here, but there is a lack of information on the part of the public as to the aims and purposes of all of these organizations. Now, the Commission has attempted to put this in as concise and good a form as they possibly can, to develop in the time they have at their command, a statement as to the aims and purposes of each. You are called on first, as I understand the Committee on these public hearings, because you represent this old organization—what might be called the standard organization of labor in this country, and inasmuch as this is the definite organization, the Committee thought well to let you make your statement of the aims and purposes, together with these gentlemen, Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Gordon, and to let those who might have criticisms come in between and then to give you an opportunity of rebuttal. Now, whether that has been wisely or properly laid out, that plan, nevertheless, is the plan.

MR. GOMPERS: Mr. Chairman, pardon me, you say I am permitted forty minutes for the presentation of that for which the American Federation of Labor stands. I have not had any previous notice that I should be required to do that, and it is not an easy matter for a man to attempt offhand to state before an official body the aims and purposes of the American Federation of Labor.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Well, if there is any reason sufficient to you, on account of which you do not



desire to be heard, or if the rules laid down by the Commission are such that you do not want to be heard under them, of course we will excuse you, though we do not like to do it, but this is the way we have laid down our plans.

MR. GOMPERS: That is intended as a curt request for me to retire?

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Why certainly not. If that sounded curt I am very sorry, as it was not so intended. I did not mean to be curt. I tried to state my proposition in a business-like and concise way, and we would be delighted to have your views.

MR. GOMPERS: I will submit to the Commission's order, whatever it is.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Take the chair, then.

MR. THOMPSON: I would say, Mr. Chairman, that if it is agreeable to Mr. Gompers, and if Mr. St. John and Mr. Morris Hillquit are here, we may hear from them first and give Mr. Gompers the opportunity of collecting his data on that subject.

Mr. Gompers thereupon left the stand, and the Commission heard Mr. Vincent St. John, Secretary-Treasurer of the Industrial Workers of the World. Mr. St. John's testimony as well as that of Mr. Joseph Ettor, who was heard later, have no direct bearing on the relations between Socialism and Trade-Unionism, and have therefore been omitted from this volume.

Mr. Morris Hillquit was called as the next witness, and testified as follows:

MR. THOMPSON: For the purpose of the record, will you kindly give us your name and address?

MR. HILLQUIT: Morris Hillquit, 246 West 139th Street, New York City.

MR. THOMPSON: And your occupation?

MR. HILLQUIT: Lawyer.

MR. THOMPSON: Are you a member of the Socialist Party?

MR. HILLQUIT: I am.

MR. THOMPSON: What is the name of the party?

MR. HILLQUIT: Socialist Party of the United States.

MR. THOMPSON: If you know, how long has that party been in existence as a party?

MR. HILLQUIT: In its present form and under its present name, since 1900.

MR. THOMPSON: Were there any prior organizations which were merged into the party?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, sir. There was the Socialist-Labor Party, organized in 1877; there was the Social-Democratic Party, organized in 1898, and several local organizations. The greater part of the Socialist-Labor Party, all of the Social-Democratic Party, and some independent organizations were merged in the present Socialist Party.

MR. THOMPSON: What is the present form, Mr. Hillquit, of that organization?

MR. HILLQUIT: The Socialist Party is a political body, consisting of state organizations within each state of the Union. The state organizations in turn are comprised of local organizations, county, city or town. The Socialist Party has an enrolled dues-paying membership, as distinguished from other political parties. The dues-paying membership of the Party at the present time comprises about 115,000 men and women.

MR. THOMPSON: What form of control or government has the Party, its officers, committees, etc.?

MR. HILLQUIT: It has a national committee composed of representatives from each state organization, representation being based on dues-paying membership.

The National Committee meets in session once a year, and elects a National Executive Committee composed of five members.

There is a National Secretary, who conducts the

practical business of the Party throughout the year, at Chicago, with a staff of assistants.

MR. THOMPSON: This Executive Committee of five members that you mentioned, Mr. Hillquit, is the committee that designated you as the representative official of the Party here?

MR. HILLQUIT: It is.

MR. THOMPSON: What, first, are the powers of the larger committee, and next, the powers of those smaller committees and of the officers?

MR. HILLQUIT: The National Committee practically acts as a convention of the Party between regular nominating conventions. It meets once a year, receives reports of officers, lays out plans of work for the coming year, elects the executive officers, and recommends amendments to the Constitution of the Party.

The National Executive Committee is practically vested with the powers of the National Committee between sessions. It meets at frequent intervals, about once in every two or three months, and between meetings transacts business by correspondence.

The National Committee, as well as the National Executive Committee, and the National Secretary, are subject to directions of the membership expressed by referendum from time to time.

MR. THOMPSON: Has the Socialist Party a constitution?

MR. HILLQUIT: It has.

MR. THOMPSON: A written constitution?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, sir.

MR. THOMPSON: Have you got a copy of it?

MR. HILLQUIT: I have.

MR. THOMPSON: Would you mind filing it with the Commission?

MR. HILLQUIT: Not at all.

(The Constitution and By-Laws were marked "Hillquit, Exhibit 1.")

MR. THOMPSON: Mr. Hillquit, I would like you to state in your own way the reason, as you see it, for the existence of the Socialist Party and its purposes and plans.

MR. HILLQUIT: I will start out with the purposes and plans first, and follow up with the reasons for its existence as I see them.

The object of the Socialist Party and of the Socialist movement may be summarized in a few words—the nationalization of the industries. The Socialist Party believes that the principal and most important industries of the country, such upon which the life and welfare of the community depend, should be owned, managed, and controlled not by individuals, or private corporations, for their personal benefit and profit and without regard to public welfare, but that they should be conducted as a social function, primarily for the benefit of the community, by responsible agencies of the people organized for that purpose.

Concretely stated, Socialism stands for the collective ownership of the principal tools, sources and resources of wealth production.

When I say collective ownership, I do not mean by that national ownership of all industries in the country. The Socialists would abolish private, irresponsible ownership and would substitute social ownership in such form as is, in each case, best adapted to a given industry. For instance, we advocate national ownership of, say, interstate railroads, telephones, telegraphs and other means of interstate communication and transportation. We may also conceive the propriety of national ownership and management of mines, or of such industries as are already organized on a national scale, such, for instance, as the great trustified industries of the country. We may, on the other hand, conceive of certain industries wholly located within one state and best managed by the state government.

Then, there is the large area of municipal industries, such as street cars, water works and gas works, which should be operated, and could be operated most economically and to the best advantage, by the city.

We may also conceive of certain other industries so unorganized, and perhaps unorganizable in their nature, as to be incapable even of municipal operation. Such industries, small industries, might be conducted by co-operative groups, under certain government, supervision and control, for the protection of the workers and consumers alike.

The system of Socialism, as we understand it, does not necessarily exclude the private ownership and management of purely individual industries, such as the various arts and crafts, and other industries not based upon the exploitation of labor, but purely on personal efforts.

Now, this Socialist program is by no means an arbitrary or ingenious device of a new social scheme. It is nothing but an attempt at the solution of certain social problems which have arisen but recently, and to which, the Socialists believe, it is the only answer.

I suppose the Commission here, in going over its very large and interesting task, has come across a number of social problems and social evils, and one of its objects is to find suitable remedies for them.

That is precisely what the Socialists have been doing for the last half a century, and very few persons realize that the social problems we are encountering are new; that they have arisen within the last century, and that they require a solution such as would grow out from their very nature.

The Socialists find that all or most of the industrial, political, and largely also social problems of the day are due to the private ownership of the tools and other instruments of wealth production, and that these problems have arisen with the system of private owner-

ship of the social tool. Here, again, the general conception that this is a condition that has confronted mankind practically always is entirely erroneous.

The point which I wish to make, and which is important for a comprehension of the Socialist philosophy, is this: The conditions of a century ago or more do not exist to-day. Wealth is produced differently. In olden times wealth was produced on an individual basis. That is, it was produced by means of simple, inexpensive, individual tools. The workers or wealth producers were mostly independent mechanics who did not need large capital, machinery, or factories for their work. They depended largely on their individual skill. They required a small tool, which they possessed. They worked in a small workshop or in their homes. They produced the entire commodity from beginning to the end. They worked for a specific consumer; they suited his tastes. The commodity, when produced, was their own in every sense of the term, legally, as well as morally, and the question of division of the product could not possibly arise under such circumstances. There was no division of the product. The product rightfully, logically, belonged to the producer. Then, within the last century, imperceptibly and steadily a tremendous change, amounting to a veritable revolution, occurred in our methods of producing wealth. We are all familiar with it. The individual tool underwent a gradual evolution. It developed into the more involved, complex tool, then into the primitive machine, until by slow stages it reached the condition of the modern huge machine, propelled by steam or electricity, and doing the work of thousands of hands.

Now, this change necessarily entailed a number of corresponding changes. In the first place, a machine requires a factory for its housing. It requires it on account of its great bulk; and it requires it also on account of the fact that a machine in its essence, pro-

duces a mere particle of the product, instead of the entire product. So that, in order to have the whole product, a set of machines is always required. A set of machines, on the other hand, can only be economically maintained if operated by a large number of employees, and if it produces large quantities of products. So that the factory began to congregate large numbers of individual workers under its roof. Gradually the independent mechanic or artisan of old times lost his independence. Gradually the worker drifted into the factory. Gradually he became a mere cog in the wheel instead of being the principal factor. It was no more a question of individual skill or ability on his part. In order to work, he must have the modern instruments of production. He cannot work unless he uses modern machinery, and he cannot own modern machinery. He cannot own it, first, because it represents a very large outlay of capital. It means not only the purchase of one machine but of a number of machines, and it presupposes a factory and raw material. Besides, if the worker could own the machine, that would not help him. Suppose you take an individual worker to-day and give him one of the great modern machines, he would still be an industrial fraction. All he could do would be to produce one uniform particle of some commodity, meaningless in itself.

The transformation means that we have passed from individualism in production to socialized production. In other words, the worker has become a social servant, as the machine has become a social tool, and the factory a social workshop.

In keeping with this change, it would have been logical, just and equitable to transform the ownership of the machine into social ownership. In other words, if society, by this process of industrial evolution, has deprived 1,000 individual workmen of 1,000 individual tools by which they have been in the habit of making

a living for themselves, and has substituted for those 1,000 individual tools, say, ten great machines, to be operated by the same 1,000 men, the equitable arrangement would have been to place these 1,000 men, properly organized, in possession of the complexity of new machines taking the place of the former tools, and to allow them to continue operating them collectively for their own uses and purposes.

The evolution, as a matter of fact, took a different direction. While the methods of production became social, and the workers became social servants, the ownership of the machine remained individual. It drifted into the hands of, say, a lucky mechanic who, for some reason or other was enabled to make the first start, or perhaps into those of a person who never had anything in common with the industrial process at all, but happened to have the capital to secure the new machine and to equip the factory to work in.

This separation of function and ownership has resulted in the creation of economic classes, and there is something which, I believe, every social investigator and every social worker should bear in mind first of all, the comparatively recent origin of social and economic classes in the United States.

If you go back to the period before the introduction of modern machinery, there practically were no permanent economic class divisions in the United States. There were those that were better off than others, but fixed and permanent economic classes did not exist.

The helper or apprentice of a century ago always considered his dependent position transitory, and he had a good right to, for, after his apprenticeship was over, he could set up for himself, and when land was abandoned and practically free, he could well go out and take up farming. However, with the introduction of machinery the laborer to-day, with rare exceptions, is a laborer forever, and he breeds and pro-



duces a generation of laborers. A workingman in several thousands may succeed in breaking into the ranks of wealth, but that is always an exception.

The vast majority of workers receive just enough to sustain their lives, perhaps a little less occasionally; and they can never expect to save up sufficient capital to undertake independent work with modern methods and on a modern scale. And, furthermore, it is physically quite impossible for every worker to be a factory owner, for there must be somebody in the factory also to operate the machine. Consequently, for a majority of the workers, the condition of dependence has become permanent and hereditary. We have for the first time in our history a fixed and hereditary working class. And by the same token, we have permanently with us a capitalist class.

When I speak of a capitalist class, I mean the class of men or women who own the tools of production which the workers need for their work. They are capitalists only to the extent to which they own such tools of production. Their ownership may be direct or indirect; it may be represented by stocks or bonds, but it is still ownership. A capitalist may even be a hard worker, but that does not change the situation. If a capitalist is an active worker in his industry he earns only as much as his work is worth. But inasmuch as he derives also a workless income, an income from the ownership of the machinery of production, whether it be a railroad or a mine or anything else, to that extent he is a capitalist, and in that sense the capitalists are a permanent and hereditary class. Here also there are exceptions. There are the capitalists' sons who dissipate their fortunes, and perhaps sink to the level of the laborer, but these are likewise the exceptions, and as the fortunes grow larger the relapses become rarer and rarer. The capitalist class tends to become permanent and hereditary just as much as the laboring class.

We claim that the origin and existence of those two classes account for most of the evils for which we seek remedies. And that for the following reasons: The economic interest of the two classes are opposed to each other; they are antagonistic. By that I do not mean that there always exists a personal hostility between the worker and the employer. Their relations may be very friendly, very cordial, but their interests are of necessity opposed to each other. The capitalist deriving this income from profits, that is, from the portion of the product which goes to him by virtue of his ownership of the means of production, and the worker receiving wages, which means that part of the product which the capitalist leaves to him after deducting his own share, it is natural that the capitalist will always endeavor to make his share of the product as large as possible, and the worker likewise.

The capitalist is in business for profits. The worker is in business for wages. Each depends upon a share of the same general product. The smaller the wages under normal circumstances, the larger the profits, and the smaller the profits the larger the wages.

So we have this economic conflict which expresses itself in a variety of ways. It works under the surface; it is not even always consciously perceived by the workers or the capitalists. If you tell some workers to-day that their interests are opposed to those of the employer, they will say, "No, they are not. They are perfectly harmonious." At the same time, during their work, they will instinctively act on the opposite assumption. They will try to conserve their labor power, the sole source of their living. They will strive to secure a raise of a dollar or two, or as much as they can. They will bicker with their employer at all times, and their employer with them. It may all be done in a good-natured way, but there is the unconscious manifestation of the class struggle. Some-

times it will flare up; there will be a strike, or there will be a lockout; sometimes it will assume a very violent character, such, for instance, as the present labor struggles in Colorado. But all these manifestations are simply different forms and different degrees of the struggle. It is always the struggle for economic advantages between the employer and the employee, whose interests are opposed to each other.

We claim, then, that this class struggle is at the bottom of the greatest number of our present industrial problems, and we claim that this problem cannot be solved unless we abolish the very system which has produced it. We may preach harmony between employers and employees, or we may have organizations especially formed for the promotion of such harmony, such, for instance, as the National Civic Federation, but, as a matter of fact, so long as the economic interests of the two classes remain conflicting, so long will no actual harmony exist between them.

The Socialists claim that by abolishing the system of private ownership in the instruments and tools of production, and by substituting for it a system of collective ownership, the classes and class distinctions and class antagonisms will disappear, and that otherwise they cannot. If you take all other problems which are known as special industrial problems, such as the problem of child labor, or the problem of woman labor, you find in them an application of the same theory. So long as the modern machinery makes the labor of women and children profitable, and so long as it is in the interest of the employer to get his labor as cheap as possible, and so long as the workers themselves are not paid sufficiently to maintain their families in decent comfort, so long will child labor and cheap woman labor prevail. Some restrictions, some mitigations of the evil are possible, but the root of it is in the private ownership of the machine by

the individual capitalist, and will remain so long as the system prevails.

I could go over the list of all other social problems. I could take up the question of the unemployed, for instance, and bring that back to the capitalist system. Under normal and rational economic conditions there should be no unemployment in the United States. For, what does unemployment mean? It is not that we do not stand in need or that we have a superfluity of commodities—too much food or too much clothing or furniture, and that for this reason we cannot allow our entire working population to continue working. We still need all that their work can produce. There are millions of citizens who stand in need of food, clothing, shelter, furniture, books, and so on, but we do not produce them, although we have the facilities to do so. We have the natural resources for it. We have the requisite skill for it, and we have millions of workers ready and eager to do the work required for their own sustenance. But the present system of production is not based upon social needs. It is not a social function. It is a case where a number of individuals manufacture for profit in a haphazard fashion. They produce a certain quantity; they employ a certain number of men; they employ them for as many hours a day as they can exact from them, and they are guided by the requirements of a market which is made by the ability of men to pay for what they need, not by what they need. Consequently, under the capitalist system, there always remains an army of unemployed workers. Some of them are unemployed temporarily, others become permanently unemployed, others lose the capacity for work by long idleness, others become old and disabled, and so we get the hobo and tramp and the unemployable.

We could even take the problem of crime and vice, and we would find that a good deal of it, by no means

all of it, may be brought home directly to the present economic system.

The Socialists say the only way to cure all these evils and maladjustment is by placing the ownership of the means of production in accord with its manner of their operation. In other words, making the process of wealth production social instead of individual; making it serve the people instead of serving the capitalists; producing for use instead of producing for profit.

The Socialists do not contemplate a complete change of the system in one day. We fully realize that social evolution is gradual; that social institutions are products of historical growth and development; that no system of society can be changed in a day just because a certain number of individuals think it ought to be changed; and, for that reason, the Socialists work towards the gradual introduction of the Socialist system, and also with a view to steady and gradual improvement of present social conditions, particularly the conditions of the workers.

The current of Socialist reform aims in two directions. We strive for the gradual socialization of the ownership of industries. We advocate national and municipal ownership of certain industries to-day, and we also advocate every measure calculated to improve the condition of the workers. Such, for instance, as better wages, shorter hours, abolition of child labor, state and national insurance of the workers against old age, sickness, disability, and so on.

And in doing that, we are guided by a dual consideration. In the first place the immediate benefits of the working class are not to be neglected; they must be recognized. It would be poor policy, if nothing worse, to say to the ten or twelve million of industrial workers: "Why, if you men and women will continue suffering and working for starvation wages and continue crippling your children in the

factories, morally and physically ; if you will be patient enough for another generation or so, a better social system will be introduced. But you must wait and suffer in the meantime." The workers of to-day are entitled to relief to-day, and to as much of it as they possibly can secure.

On the other hand, we also know that in order to bring about the ultimate and radical change which the Socialists propose, it will require a better class of workers ; a class of workers physically better fitted, mentally better trained, and politically and economically better organized. In other words, we assume that Socialism, as any other proposed change, political, social or economic, can only be brought about when the conditions are ripe for it and when the men are ripe for it, and when the machinery for the accomplishment of the transformation is properly organized. We do not expect the capitalists to arise one fine morning and to say: "After all, we have considered the situation, and have come to the conclusion that we have been unjust and iniquitous. We now abdicate our political and economic power, and we will turn over our industries to the collectivity of the nation." We expect that Socialism will be introduced when a majority, or well-nigh a majority, of the population is ready to do so, and when it has power enough—including political power—to force that change,—just as every other social reform is introduced. So that the practical program of Socialism, or the practical problem before the Socialists is to increase their numbers sufficiently to secure that power. They expect to increase their numbers principally through accretions from that part of the population who are interested in their proposed change, and who would be economically benefitted by it, in other words, by accretions from the working class. And for this reason, also, the Socialists have a direct motive in striving to elevate the physical and mental

conditions of the workers. If you take a worker who is badly underpaid and underfed, overworked and ill-housed, you cannot expect him to develop a social idealism. You cannot expect him to grasp a social philosophy, or to develop the mental independence, and the courage to battle for a cause and a principle more or less idealistic.

The worker who may be interested in such a movement is the one who has some leisure, some time to read, to study, to think, and to cultivate the fine sides of life. We find in the Socialist movement here, as well as everywhere else, that our main support comes from the better situated and more intelligent part of the workers. We do not mean to say by that we encourage a class distinction of workers, but there is a certain stratum of the working class which has been exploited to such an extent that it has fallen below the level of average working-class culture or intellect. And that class, the slum—proletariat, so-called, is rarely accessible to the teachings of Socialism or of any similar movement. On the other hand, the better situated and more intelligent workers constitute the bulk of the Socialist Party members and voters, here and abroad.

The Socialist Party thus has every reason to encourage and support the economic organizations and the struggles of the labor movement in all its forms. It does so in this country, it does so in every other country. It does so for the reason that it realizes the economic organization of labor is the main prop of the worker under the present conditions; that it serves very largely to raise the standards of the worker's life in every direction, and to make it better and healthier and happier. It supports, for similar reasons, the co-operative movement of the working class, and it supports every other radical reform movement based upon actual economic needs, and aiming at actual economic improvement.

The Socialist platform, which sets forth the aims, ultimate and immediate, of the Socialist Party, contains a large number of what we call "immediate demands," that is, practical propositions for immediate reform.

MR. THOMPSON: I would like to ask you, Mr. Hillquit, a question or two right there.

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, go ahead.

MR. THOMPSON: In reference to the present method, or present industrial situation of the workers, is the program of the Socialist Party limited to such pronouncements as, say, a program of legislation for the national and state legislators? Has it in addition to that any other concrete machinery or organization for the carrying out of immediate redress in industrial matters?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, we have the pronounced views of the Party on these various problems contained, not only in the platform, but in a number of other resolutions and similar instruments. The practical instruments for the carrying out of our program are as follows: In the first place, we have in the national office of the Party, an Information Department, consisting of the head of the department, and certain assistants, whose duty it is to assist all elected members of our Party in city councils and state assemblies, in practical matters. For instance, a new Socialist councilman may be elected in some town for the first time. Some measures will come up before the city council, and he will write to the Information Department and inquire: "What do you think of this measure, or what stand do you think I should take, and what should I propose on this or that question, in conformity with the Socialist program," and he will receive suggestions and information, and, perhaps, model bills to be introduced, or model ordinances.

MR. THOMPSON: Are the suggestions that may



be given to him made obligatory upon him by the Party platform?

MR. HILLQUIT: No, they are purely voluntary, just in the nature of suggestion and advice, nothing more.

MR. THOMPSON: Relating particularly now to the industrial organization of the workers?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes.

MR. THOMPSON: Has the Socialist Party a program or organization for dealing with them as actually engaged in industry, for instance, in the shops and factories?

MR. HILLQUIT: No, we don't engage in the economic struggles of the workers, except where such struggles assume a political or general aspect. We do not consider it part of our mission, function or power to interfere with the details of the economic labor organizations, in the shop or in the unions. We would consider that meddling. If the relation of the Socialist Party to the economic labor organizations is of interest to you, I have here a brief resolution adopted by the convention of the National Socialist Party in 1912, and if you wish me to, I will read it to you.

MR. THOMPSON: Will you read it?

MR. HILLQUIT: It is very short.

MR. THOMPSON: I think we might hear it, then.

MR. HILLQUIT: It is not a page (reading): "Political organizations and economic organizations are alike necessary in the struggle for working class emancipation. The most harmonious relations should exist between the two great forces of the working class movement—the Socialist Party and the labor unions. The labor movement of the United States has of recent years made marvelous progress in all directions. It is steadily increasing in numbers, and has reached trades and industries which were before unorganized. It has in many instances concentrated its power and increased in efficiency by the amalga-

mation of related trades into federations and industrial unions. Many unions have opened their meeting before adjournment to the discussion of vital social and political problems of the working class, and have repudiated the demoralizing policies represented by the National Civic Federation. The organized workers are rapidly developing an enlightened militant class consciousness. The reality of this progress is attested by the increasing virulence with which the organized capitalists wage their war against the unions. This improved economic organization is not a matter of abstract theory, but grows out of the experience of the wage workers in the daily class struggle. Only those actually engaged in the struggle in the various trades and industries can solve the problems of form of organizations. The Socialist Party, therefore, reaffirms the position it has always taken with regard to the movement of organized labor:

First, that the party has neither the right nor the desire to interfere in any controversies which may exist within the labor union movement over plan or form of organization or technical methods of action in the industrial struggle, but trusts to the labor organizations themselves to solve those questions.

Second, that the Socialists call the attention of their members in the labor unions to the vital importance of the task of organizing the unorganized, especially the immigrants and the unskilled laborers, who stand in greatest need of organized protection, and who constitute a great menace to the progress and welfare of organized labor if they remain neglected. The Socialist Party will ever be ready to co-operate with the labor unions in the task of organizing the unorganized workers, and urges the labor organizations which have not already done so, to throw their doors wide open to the workers in their respective trades and industries, abolishing all onerous conditions of membership and artificial restrictions. In the face

of the tremendous powers of the American capitalists and their close industrial and political unions, the workers of the country can win their battle only by strong class conscious and closely united organizations on the economic field, and a powerful and militant party on the political field, and by joint attack of both on the common enemy.

Third, that it is the duty of the party to give moral and material support to the labor organizations in all the defensive or aggressive struggles against capitalists' oppression and exploitation for the protection and extension of the rights of the wage workers, and the betterment of their material and social conditions.

Fourth, that it is the duty of the members of the Socialist Party who are eligible to membership in the unions to join and be active in their respective labor organizations.

MR. THOMPSON: Going back to the original question again, while the Socialists appreciate that the underfed and underpaid and overworked people are not apt to develop that intelligence that is necessary to understand a rather elaborate social philosophy or program such as the Socialist Party has, yet, when it comes to dealing with the subject of greatly shortening the hours, increasing the pay, bettering the working conditions, they have no definite organization of their own, and do not go directly and specifically into industry, but leave that to the trade unions whose general purposes they, as a party, endorse?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, sir.

MR. THOMPSON: And rather keep to the field of political action as it may present itself for the carrying out of the general program, such as the municipalization of a gas plant or street railroad?

MR. HILLQUIT: Principally, but not exclusively. That is, the Socialist Party is a political party, primarily, but it is not a political party in the sense in which the old parties are. It is not exclusively politi-

cal. The Socialist Party is also an educational organization. And, in addition to that, it does take an active part in the economical struggles of the workers where they assume a general character, for instance, in cases of a large and extensive strike, the Socialist Party actively supports the strikers. It supports them by means of money contributions, by means of speakers, and also by its press. Here is a point which is perhaps not generally appreciated: The Socialist Party has better facilities, probably, for reaching the non-English speaking workers of the country than any other social organization. We have papers printed in almost every language spoken in the United States, over 30 in number, and we have speakers in all of those languages. In a strike of miners, for instance, where perhaps a dozen different nationalities are involved, one of the great problems is to keep them together. Of course, we don't manage the strike. But we very cheerfully send speakers in all those languages to the strike region, if requested or consented to by the organization having charge of the strike. We send our literature there, and, of course, we take a strong position in support of the strike in all of our publications. We also render active financial, moral and other support in other cases of labor struggles, as, for instance, in cases like one that was presented by the Moyer-Haywood trial, or similar legal prosecutions against labor leaders, arising out of their connections with labor struggles. When such fights become pretty general, the Socialist Party will join in the movement for defence of the accused. It has done so time and time again.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: Is it not true that the declared position of the Socialist Party to-day—is it not true that the attitude you have described is the only one which you could consistently take, because active effort by committees or otherwise to perform functions would be by you regarded as only a tem-

porary makeshift until a reversal of the system had been effected?

MR. HILLQUIT: I must confess I don't quite understand the question.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: In other words, that on the declaration that was laid down as the basic one of the Socialist Party, you could not consistently, from the standpoint of the Party, deal under the present methods on any other than a makeshift basis; you would only regard it as patchwork, and not as real betterment?

MR. HILLQUIT: I would not say that. I would say that I consider every real betterment as a real betterment, and often also as leading to the final solution and to the radical cure, but I do not consider it as a complete cure. In other words——

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: (Interrupting) It would only be grafted upon the present system?

MR. HILLQUIT: I don't say that at all. It might change the present system gradually into a new and better system. It is not grafting upon it. Real and lasting reform, such as proper factory legislation, proper protection of workingmen by social insurance, and similar measures, is not a makeshift in our eyes. We consider it as very valuable, very substantial.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: You very evidently misunderstood the scope of my question. Only to wage and working conditions is what I intended to apply it to. In other words, you work for the abolition of the wage system?

MR. HILLQUIT: Well, we work to-day for the improvement of labor conditions, and we work ultimately for the abolition of the wage system.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: And therefore you would regard betterment in those things just as of a temporary character until you attained the whole object?

MR. HILLQUIT: Oh, no, by no means. We would consider it as one step in the direction of our aim.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: Helping it along?

MR. HILLQUIT: We would consider it in this way, Mr. Garretson: If I have set out to earn a hundred dollars, and if I had done part of my work and earned ten dollars, I would not consider that as a makeshift or patchwork, but would consider it as a part realization of my ultimate object.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: Part of the \$100?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: At this point the Commission will adjourn until 2 o'clock. Return here at 2 o'clock sharp, without further notice.

## SECOND SESSION.

### Socialist Attitude Towards Trade Unionism

CHAIRMAN WALSH: The Commission will please come to order. Mr. Thompson, it is the conclusion of the Commission that in this one particular case, they would waive the ordinary rule and let Mr. Gompers examine Mr. Hillquit, and Mr. Hillquit examine Mr. Gompers.

MR. THOMPSON: I assume now that I am substantially through with the questions I have to ask Mr. Hillquit in regard to the application of Socialism to the present-day industrial propositions. In other words, I am through with the direct examination.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: If it is convenient, then, Mr. Gompers, you may proceed.

MR. GOMPERS: Mr. Hillquit, in your statement this morning you said that the purpose of the Socialist Party is to help the trades union movement in the achievement of its purposes,—that is, in the material improvement of the condition of the working people.

MR. HILLQUIT: I did.

MR. GOMPERS: Has that been the policy of the Socialist Party, of which you are a member, and with its immediate predecessor, the Socialist Labor Party?

MR. HILLQUIT: It has been the uniform policy of the Socialist Party. It has also been the policy, in principle, of the Socialist Labor Party, although I am inclined to think that the principle was not properly applied by the Socialist Labor Party for a time.

MR. GOMPERS: You said, Mr. Hillquit, it has been

the policy of the Socialist Party, and substantially its purpose, to work for factory legislation, and legislation of that character. Will you tell the Commission in which instances your Party has been active to secure such legislation?

MR. HILLQUIT: The Party has been active in that direction wherever it has had an opportunity to be active, and more specifically in the following way: Where the Party has no representation in the State Legislatures, its activity was necessarily limited to the advocacy of such measures, through the Party press, the adoption of proper resolutions, and the support of such measures in other ways.

Where the Party has had representatives in the Legislatures of the various states, such attempts have been made by introducing bills for efficient labor legislation. In the State of New York we have had one important movement for a measure of labor legislation, one overshadowing all others. That was the movement for the adoption of a proper Compensation Act. As soon as the agitation sprang up, the Socialist Party initiated a joint conference between the labor organizations of the City, including the Central Federated Union of New York, the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn, and several local trades councils, and the Socialist Party. It was this joint conference which was, I believe, instrumental, at least as much as any other factor, in making the movement for a Workmen's Compensation Act effective; and it was the Socialist Party representatives in that conference who led in the propaganda and in the drafting of the proposed Compensation Act. We had for one term only, a member in the New York State Legislature, and that member, elected in the county of Schenectady, submitted bills along all important lines of factory and social reform, including measures for State insurance against sickness, industrial accidents, old age pensions, limitation of child labor, and many more measures along the program



advocated by the Socialist Party, and also the American Federation of Labor. In Wisconsin we have had representation in the Legislature for a number of years, and I am free to state that there is not a general measure advocated by the organized labor movement in this country, including the American Federation of Labor, which has not found concrete expression in some proposed measure submitted by the Socialist representatives in that assembly. The same holds true of every other state in which we have had representation. Even the State of Washington, I noticed recently a statement of all the measures proposed or supported by the Socialist representatives, and they cover almost the whole range of labor legislation. The same holds true, of course, in a larger measure of all countries on the European continent, where Socialism is a strong political factor.\*

MR. GOMPERS: Are you through?

MR. HILLQUIT: I am through.

MR. GOMPERS: The Workmen's Compensation Bill, now a law of the State of New York,—did the Socialist Party have a hand in the framing of that Bill?

MR. HILLQUIT: The Socialist Party had at that time no representation in the Legislature.

MR. GOMPERS: I am asking you whether you took any part, whether the Socialist Party took any part in the framing of that Bill.

MR. HILLQUIT: It did not and could not, and if it

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\* According to a compilation made by Miss Mills under the direction of the Information Department of the Socialist Party, Socialist representatives in the Legislatures of nine states have introduced within the seven-year period, 1907-1913, a total of 895 measures for social reform, of which 141 have been enacted into laws. Of the bills so introduced 207 were measures of labor legislation and 35 of these were actually passed. (See Legislative Program of the Socialist Party by Ethelwyn Mills, Chicago, 1914.)

could have done so, the law would have been very much better and more efficient than it is. (Laughter.)

MR. GOMPERS: Do you know that the Workmen's Compensation Law of the State of New York is the most comprehensive and generous of any law on the statute books of this or of any other state and of any country on the face of the globe?

MR. HILLQUIT: No, not of any other country, Mr. Gompers. It is, I believe, one of the very best in this country. It is far from doing social justice to the workers, in my opinion.

MR. GOMPERS: It has not established the co-operative commonwealth?

MR. HILLQUIT: Nor has it established a proper Compensation Act.

MR. GOMPERS: Now, then, do you know that the Workmen's Compensation Act was drafted by authority and direction of the New York State Federation of Labor?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, after the New York State Federation of Labor had received a good deal of valuable instruction on the subject from the Socialists. I know something about it, Mr. Gompers. (Laughter in the audience.)

CHAIRMAN WALSH: We must keep order, ladies and gentlemen, and it will not be proper to make any demonstration at any time.

MR. GOMPERS: Who gave that instruction? What did that instruction consist of?

MR. HILLQUIT: Why, when we first met the representative of the State Federation of Labor, Mr. Gompers, we found that the majority of the members did not even know what workmen's compensation stood for, and we have had a sort of study class there. I remember it very well. The first draft prepared by them was so dolefully inadequate, that we urged Mr. McDonough, who then represented the American Federation of Labor to withdraw it, and to re-draft and

remodel his bill. Nothing passed at that session of the legislature. Then the bill passed which was declared unconstitutional by the Court of Appeals, and when finally the present bill was prepared, it came very much closer to our original draft.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you know that there was a meeting in the Assembly Hall of the New York Legislature where the joint committees of the legislature had hearings and investigations in regard to the Workmens' Compensation Bill, now a law?

MR. HILLQUIT: I appeared in one of those hearings on Workmens' Compensation.

MR. GOMPERS: I refer to the hearing by the Joint Committee of both houses of the legislature.

MR. HILLQUIT: Appointed by Governor Hughes. It was the first and only one. The Wainwright Commission, is that it?

MR. GOMPERS: No, sir, you are quite in error, Mr. Hillquit. That is, pardon me; I have no right to say that. But I refer to the Workmens' Compensation Bill when Mr. Sulzer was Governor.

MR. HILLQUIT: If there was such a commission,\* I know nothing about it, for I was abroad at that time. I know that the subject as originally taken up by the Wainwright Commission, and that before that Commission, the Socialist Party was officially represented by your humble servant, and one or two other representatives. We urged our views on the Commission in favor of an effective and broad compensation act, and I believe they received some consideration.

MR. GOMPERS: Was the Wainwright Commission created by an act of the legislature of the State of New York?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes.

MR. GOMPERS: Was that urged by the Socialist Party?

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\* As a matter of fact there was no such commission.

MR. HILLQUIT: Was what urged by the Socialist Party?

MR. GOMPERS: The creation of this Commission?

MR. HILLQUIT: The Socialist Party was very much in favor of the creation of such Commission. It did not happen to be in power, and could not appoint a committee.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you know that the American Federation of Labor has gone on record for more than ten years in favor of a workmens' compensation law for the States and for the Federal Government?

MR. HILLQUIT: I have no fault to find with the American Federation of Labor in its attitude on workmens' compensation. I think that is one of the things that the American Federation of Labor did properly.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you know what the Socialist Party contributed toward that end?

MR. HILLQUIT: I know it has contributed a good deal along the lines on which it could contribute. I know that the Socialist Party had expressed itself in favor of workmens' compensation or State insurance of workers in case of accidents, much longer than 10 years ago, and even before the American Federation of Labor had taken it up, and I should not be surprised if the American Federation of Labor was directly influenced by that Socialist propaganda in taking it up.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you know of the efforts of the Socialist Party to secure workmens' compensation for the government employes of the United States?

MR. HILLQUIT: I would not specify government employes. The Socialist Party of the United States pronounced itself in favor of workmens' compensation generally, drafted a model Workmens' Compensation Act, sent it to all State Secretaries of the organization and to all its locals, with the recommendation to make special propaganda for it, and in 1910, I believe, it passed a resolution urging the various local organiza-

tions of the Socialist Party to concentrate their efforts upon workmens' compensation.\*

MR. GOMPERS: Mr. Hillquit, I have no desire to curb you in any way, but where you can answer Yes or No, that does no violence to your position, it would be proper; and if exemplification or amplification is necessary, why, it would be better to do it then.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Wherever an answer Yes or No can be given, give it first, Mr. Hillquit, and then take all the time you need to explain your answer.

MR. HILLQUIT: I am perfectly well satisfied. I did not know my friend, Mr. Gompers, was so legally technical.

MR. GOMPERS: I would like to have some definite answer to a definite question.

MR. HILLQUIT: Very well, Mr. Gompers.

MR. GOMPERS: What assistance, if any, was given by the Socialist Party to the creation of a Bureau of Mines for the protection of the lives and health and conditions of the miners?

MR. HILLQUIT: The same assistance as the assist-

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\* The resolution is as follows:

"The Congress strongly advises all state and local organizations of the party to give careful study to the subject of workmen's compensation laws, to train a corps of speakers and writers qualified to deal with the campaign for the enactment of such laws and for their improvement in any cases where they may be enacted in an unsatisfactory form.

"The Congress instructs the National Executive Committee to assume the duty of correlating the efforts of the various state and local organizations on this line, assisting them in the collection and exchange of information, the training of speakers and writers, the publication and distribution of literature, so as to give the movement a nation-wide scope.

"The Congress invites the labor unions of all trades and industries to join with the Party in the prosecution of this work, and urges the Party organizations in every industrial center to enter into conference with the local central labor bodies for that purpose."

ance given in other similar measures, that of propaganda for it.

MR. GOMPERS: Did the Socialist Party aid in securing the enactment of a law for uniform couplers on cars on railroads?

MR. HILLQUIT: I do not think that specific question ever came up before the Socialist Party.

MR. GOMPERS: Did the Socialist Party ever take any part in securing vestibules for the street railway men?

MR. HILLQUIT: The Socialist Party never took part in propaganda for special legislation affecting certain special trades. It considers that to be within the province of the organized workers within the particular trades or industries.

MR. GOMPERS: Did I understand you correctly to say this morning that the Socialist Party always was and is now in favor of the trade union movement, the labor union movement?

MR. HILLQUIT: You understood me correctly.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you recall or do you know that at the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Detroit the Socialist Party insisted upon representation in that convention as a political party?

MR. HILLQUIT: That was when, Mr. Gompers, 1890, was it?

MR. GOMPERS: About that time.

MR. HILLQUIT: I know that the Socialist Labor Party that then existed claimed the right to representation in the convention of the American Federation of Labor through membership in the Central Labor Federation of New York, and such representation was not granted. The Socialist Party never claimed such representation.

MR. GOMPERS: They felt outraged at such an exclusion?

MR. HILLQUIT: The Socialist Party did not feel

outraged at such an exclusion because the Socialist Party never sought representation.

MR. GOMPERS: Did the Socialist Party ever inaugurate a movement to supplant or to be in rivalry with the American Federation of Labor?

MR. HILLQUIT: The Socialist Party very emphatically did not. The Socialist Labor Party at one time conceived the notion of forming an organization of trades unions in opposition to the American Federation of Labor, and constituting a distinct Socialist economic organization. This act on the part of the Socialist Labor Party brought about a split within the Party, and the Socialist Party of to-day was organized largely on that issue and because it did not agree with that policy.

MR. GOMPERS: The Socialist Party which you now represent before the Commission is the successor of the Socialist Labor Party as it existed?

MR. HILLQUIT: It is the successor of that part of the Socialist Labor Party which rebelled against the labor policy just mentioned by you. Those who were opposed to the policy seceded and formed the new Socialist Party.

MR. GOMPERS: The Socialist Labor Party is still in existence?

MR. HILLQUIT: The Socialist Labor Party is still nominally in existence.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you think the members of the Socialist Labor Party would agree with you in saying it is still nominally in existence?

MR. HILLQUIT: I don't know. They represent the same proportion in the Socialist movement as the I. W. W. represents in the American labor movement.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: In round numbers how many members are there in the United States of the Socialist Party?

MR. HILLQUIT: About 115,000 dues-paying members.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: And how many in the Socialist Labor Party, do you know?

MR. HILLQUIT: I estimate about 1,500.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Where do you get that estimate?

MR. HILLQUIT: Pretty much from the Socialist Labor Party. The last time they gave out a statement of membership, it was between 2 and 3 thousand, and they have since fallen off as may be noticed by their referenda and other indications.

MR. GOMPERS: Who was the candidate of the Socialist Party for President of the United States in 1912?

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Eugene V. Debs.

MR. GOMPERS: Who was in 1908?

MR. HILLQUIT: Likewise.

MR. GOMPERS: And in 1902?

MR. HILLQUIT: 1902? There was no Presidential candidate in 1902, when you come to think of it.

MR. GOMPERS: 1904?

MR. HILLQUIT: It was Debs.

MR. GOMPERS: Is it unfair to assume that the candidate of your Party for the Presidency of the United States expresses the views of the Party? Is he the Party spokesman and standard bearer?

MR. HILLQUIT: It is entirely unfair to assume that, in view of the expressed position of the Party itself. In other words, Mr. Gompers, when the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, officially takes a stand on its relation to organized labor, no individual member of the Party, no matter what his position, can nullify or modify that stand.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you know that Mr. Eugene V. Debs was present at the First Annual Convention of the organization which formed the so-called Industrial Workers of the World?

MR. HILLQUIT: I do.



MR. GOMPERS: Have you read any of his speeches during that convention?

MR. HILLQUIT: I have read some.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you regard his expressions as being friendly or in favor of the trades union movement, the American Federation of Labor?

MR. HILLQUIT: As I understand his position, his attitude is not friendly toward the leaders of the American Federation of Labor. His attitude is more friendly toward the members of the American Federation of Labor. But these are his personal views to which he is entitled.

MR. GOMPERS: When Mr. Debs says: "The American Federation of Labor has numbers, but the capitalist class do not fear the American Federation of Labor. Quite the contrary." Do you regard that utterance as a friendly expression for the American Federation of Labor?

MR. HILLQUIT: I do not, nor do I regard it as an authorized utterance of the Socialist Party.

MR. GOMPERS: Speaking of the American Federation of Labor and of some Socialists, he says: "There are these who believe that this form of unionism can be changed from within. They are very greatly mistaken." Do you agree with Mr. Debs on that utterance?

MR. HILLQUIT: I do not agree. I think, on the contrary, the American Federation of Labor is being forced, and will be forced more and more to gradually change its form of organization, to adjust itself to the forms of modern industrial conditions.

MR. GOMPERS: I read this, and ask you for your opinion. Mr. Debs says in that speech: "There is but one way to effect this change, and that is for the workman to sever his relation with the American Federation."

MR. HILLQUIT: I do not agree with that, nor does the Socialist Party agree with that. And, to make our

position clear once for all, Mr. Gompers, I will say that it will be quite useless to quote Mr. Debs on his attitude to the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Debs took part in the organization of the Industrial Workers of the World. I think he has now lived to regret it, but whether he does or not, the fact is that he acted entirely on his own accord and on his own responsibility; that the Socialist Party at no time approved, directly or indirectly, of that stand, and at no time have endorsed the Industrial Workers of the World as against the American Federation of Labor. And I will say further that the Socialist Party at no time made fundamental criticisms against the American Federation of Labor, although I am just as frank to add that the Socialist Party, or at least the majority of its members, do believe that the present leadership of the American Federation of Labor is somewhat archaic, somewhat antiquated, too conservative and not efficient enough for the objects and purposes of the American Federation of Labor. That is the general Socialist position.

MR. GOMPERS: Of course as to the leadership, that must be determined. The leadership of the American Federation of Labor, I assume, must be determined by the membership of the organization, as it can best give expression to its preference.

MR. HILLQUIT: Entirely so.

MR. GOMPERS: Are you aware that the leadership to which you refer, has been elected and re-elected by practically unanimous vote for several years past?

MR. HILLQUIT: We do not contest the election nor the legitimacy of office of the officials of the A. F. of L. We only wish they were a little more abreast of the time, and that they would keep pace with industrial developments.

MR. GOMPERS: Reverting to Mr. Debs, he does not oppose the leadership only. In his speech——

MR. HILLQUIT: If you will read all, you will find

that his opposition is largely, if not exclusively, directed against the leadership as he sees it. And I reiterate once more that it is his individual stand.

MR. GOMPERS: You have said that it is his individual stand, yet the speech to which I refer and in which he asks and urges the workmen to leave the American Federation of Labor, was made some time in June or July, 1908, and Mr. Debs was twice made the standard bearer of the Socialist Party as candidate for President of the United States since that time.

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, sir. He was. There was absolutely no reason why he should not be, in view of the fact that the Party itself had at the same time very explicitly declared its stand on organized labor, and it did not have to apprehend that any of its representatives might misrepresent its attitude.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you know that Mr. Debs has, within these past weeks, issued a document in which he urges the secession of two of the largest organizations from the American Federation of Labor, for the purpose of destroying the American Federation of Labor?

MR. HILLQUIT: I do. May I add, Mr. Gompers, that this likewise was wholly and fully done by his own initiative and on his own responsibility, and is in no way approved of or condoned by the Socialist Party. We allow liberty of expression and opinion within the Socialist Party, you know.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you regard that as the individual expression of opinion, when a man thrice the candidate of a political party, urges that a movement be inaugurated to dissolve the only general federation of organized workmen that ever existed for a period of time, such as the American Federation of Labor?

MR. HILLQUIT: I regard it purely as the individual expression of the man. The Socialist Party never places its program or views into the hands of an individual candidate. It speaks for itself in conventions.

MR. GOMPERS: And the candidate for the Presidency of your party does not express, then, the sentiments and the views of the Party itself, is that the inference to be drawn from your answer?

MR. HILLQUIT: You may draw this inference, that, whenever a candidate of the Socialist Party for the Presidency or otherwise, deviates from the declared principles of the Socialist Party, he does not speak for the Party, but speaks entirely on his responsibility.

Are you still quoting Mr. Debs?

MR. GOMPERS: Perhaps. Would you hold the same line of conduct to apply to, say, Mr. Taft, who was the candidate for President of the United States, nominated by the Republican Party?

MR. HILLQUIT: No, sir. The Republican Party has no declaration of general principles; no expressed attitude towards labor unions; no general social philosophy, and no social views of any kind. Its candidate for President therefore necessarily acts as the spokesman of his party. The Socialist Party is entirely different in this respect.

MR. GOMPERS: Would you say the candidate of the Prohibitionists, the candidate for President, if he were to make a declaration that was inconsistent with what his party would hold, would you regard that as simply his individual expression of opinion?

MR. HILLQUIT: If the candidate for President of the Prohibition Party were to take a drink, I would not say that the Prohibition Party was committed to the drink evil.

MR. GOMPERS: I prefer not to bring in the personal habits of any man. I don't know that that is illuminating or contributory to the discussion.

MR. HILLQUIT: I did not mean to be personal, Mr. Gompers.

MR. GOMPERS: The question as to the candidate for President of the Prohibition Party is nothing to me. I was speaking of personal declarations. Supposing I,

as President of the American Federation of Labor, were to go upon the platform and give expression in a speech, or were to write an editorial in the American Federationist, urging the dissolution of the American Federation of Labor,——

MR. HILLQUIT: Of the Socialist Party, you mean, to apply your analogy.

MR. GOMPERS: Evidently you want to bandy words with me rather than to answer the question.

MR. HILLQUIT: Go ahead.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Wait until the question is finished and then answer, if you can.

MR. GOMPERS: Supposing Mr. Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, were upon a public platform or in articles contributed to the Labor Press, to advocate the dissolution of the American Federation of Labor, would you regard that as a personal expression of my own?

MR. HILLQUIT: I would, decidedly. If you, as the President of the American Federation of Labor, were to advocate a dissolution of the American Federation of Labor, without such a resolution having been passed by the Federation, I certainly should not say that you voiced the sentiments of the organization.

Furthermore, with all due respect to you, your analogy does not apply, Mr. Gompers. Mr. Debs, a leading member of the Socialist Party, advocates certain changes in the American Federation of Labor. If you, as the President of the American Federation of Labor, were to advocate a change or dissolution in or of the Socialist Party, you would be in an analogous position, and I certainly would not regard that as an official expression of the American Federation of Labor. Furthermore, you, Mr. Gompers, have very often taken a stand hostile to the Socialist Party. I do not regard that as the official expression of the American Federation of Labor, for I know that the membership, or a very large portion of it, hold very different views

on the subject. That does not come within your domain as President of the American Federation of Labor, although you, as an individual, are at liberty to hold such opinions, and the Federation does not in any way discipline you for holding them. There is your analogy.

MR. GOMPERS: Mr. Hillquit, these speeches which you have made a thousand and one times——

CHAIRMAN WALSH: I would not get into any arguments, Mr. Gompers, with the witness, but just question him. When you go on the witness stand, he is going to ask you questions, and I suppose you can make some when you come to go on there.

MR. GOMPERS: All right, Mr. Chairman. Now, of course, Mr. Hillquit, you understand that the articles or editorials which I have written and published in the American Federationist, all of them have been caused by the defensive attitude which the American Federation has been forced to take against the aggressiveness and hostility of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party?

MR. HILLQUIT: I don't think so at all, Mr. Gompers. If you ask me about my understanding of it, my understanding is that those articles have been caused by your fear of the increasing growth of Socialism in the ranks of the Federation. That is my understanding of it.

MR. GOMPERS: Well, of course, you would not attribute to me very great fear of anything, would you?

MR. HILLQUIT: Of anything?

MR. GOMPERS: Of anything.

MR. HILLQUIT: If you want my opinion, Mr. Gompers, I should say you are a very brave man, but you do hate to see the American Federation of Labor turning Socialistic.

MR. GOMPERS: The reason I do so is the result of conviction——

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Mr. Gompers, please do not get into an argument with the witness now. You can

go on the witness stand and he will examine you and you will have the same latitude of stating your views. But just ask him questions, please.

MR. GOMPERS: Mr. Debs, in his speech, to which I have referred before, said: "I appeal to you to ally yourselves with the economic organization which embraces your entire class." He referred to the Industrial Workers of the World, organized in 1905. Will you give me your judgment as to the extent to which that organization embraces the entire working class?

MR. HILLQUIT: Of the world? Not very much, Mr. Gompers. It was the fond hope of the organizers, which I never shared, that it would; but it does not.

MR. GOMPERS: He says further: "I would appeal to you to declare yourselves here and now, to be for once and forever true enough to yourselves to join the only industrial union that is absolutely true to you—the I. W. W." And the stenographer put "Loud Applause." Will you give your opinion of that statement?

MR. HILLQUIT: My opinion is the same that I have given you before. I think Mr. Debs was carried away by his enthusiasm, when he thought he could create an artificial organization to embrace all the workers joined in one great industrial union. I think his views of trade unionism are not sound. At any rate, they are not those of the Socialist Party and they are not mine; and you might just as well read 200 quotations from his speeches on that subject as five.

MR. GOMPERS: Mr. Debs then said: "Now, we, the Socialists, who have organized the Industrial Workers, have had enough of this kind of experience. We have quit the old unions."

MR. HILLQUIT: I presume he has had enough, Mr. Gompers. He does not speak for others.

MR. GOMPERS: Isn't it true that at the last convention of the Socialist Party, held at Indianapolis, Mr. Karl Legien, of Germany, was urged to be in at-

tendance in order that he might help prevent the introduction and passage of a resolution hostile to the trade union movement?

MR. HILLQUIT: It is not. Mr. Legien was asked to be present as a prominent Socialist, and as the International Trades Union Secretary, in order to deliver an address on the experiences of the Socialists of Germany and the organized workers in their mutual co-operation, which he did and did very well.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you know at the time when the Socialist Party convention was about to be held Mr. Legien was lecturing under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, that was about the most progressive thing the American Federation of Labor ever did.

MR. GOMPERS: And do you know that he asked permission from the American Federation of Labor that he might cancel a few engagements already made, so that he could attend the Socialist Party convention for the purpose I indicated by my first question?

MR. HILLQUIT: I don't know his specific engagements. I know that Mr. Legien came here primarily on the invitation of the American Federation of Labor, in which the Socialist Party joined; and the understanding was that he was first to lecture for the American Federation of Labor, and then for the Socialist Party.

MR. GOMPERS: The New York Call is one of the official journals of the Socialist Party, is it not?

MR. HILLQUIT: Not official. But it is a Socialist paper.

MR. GOMPERS: A recognized Socialist paper?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes.

MR. GOMPERS: Speaking with some degree of authority?

MR. HILLQUIT: Editorially, mostly speaking with some degree of authority.



MR. GOMPERS: This appeared in it—in the issue of December 16th, 1909: "Don't like the I. W. W.? Well, don't kill the kid. He will grow, and we shall need him in our business by and by, and possibly sooner than many of us believe."

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, Mr. Gompers, did that appear as an editorial or as a contributed letter by some reader?

MR. GOMPERS: I can't say, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: I can help you out, Mr. Gompers. It was never part of an editorial. That was one of the many letters sent to the Call by all sorts of writers, which the Call publishes, just as the Evening Globe does, without taking any responsibility for them.

MR. GOMPERS: In a work entitled "Industrial Union Movement," the preface is written by C. H. Kerr, a prominent American Socialist, a member of the Party, and a large publisher of Socialist literature. In it he says: "As Marxian students of evolution, we (Socialists) recognize that economic concentration has made trade unions obsolete, and that the principle of industrial unionism must be adopted in the near future."

MR. HILLQUIT: What do you want to know with reference to that, Mr. Gompers?

MR. GOMPERS: Is that a Socialist expression in favor of the American labor union movement?

MR. HILLQUIT: Why, it might be. The expression comes from Mr. Kerr, I believe, in a preface to "Industrial Socialism." "Industrial Socialism was a pamphlet, written by Mr. Haywood and Mr. Bohn, and indirectly led to Mr. Haywood's recall from the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. It never represented the accepted views of the Socialist Party. It seems to me that the passage that you read, while it may be crude, contains a good deal of sound truth. In other words, what it means is that the industrial evolution in this country has been such

as to bring to the front ever larger and closer industrial organizations of capital, and the trade unions evidently will have to adjust themselves to the new situation and reorganize on an industrial basis. The American Federation of Labor might not say it in so many words, but I think it has felt it, and I think it is undergoing a process of change in its organization just now in that very direction.

MR. GOMPERS: You read the proceedings of the American Federation of Labor fairly carefully, don't you, Mr. Hillquit?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, fairly so.

MR. GOMPERS: Did you read the proceedings of the Rochester convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in that city, in 1912?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, I did, Mr. Gompers.

MR. GOMPERS: Did you read the declaration of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on the subject of Industrial Unionism?

MR. HILLQUIT: I believe so, but I don't recall it.

MR. GOMPERS: It didn't make sufficient impression upon your mind that you can now recall it?

MR. HILLQUIT: No, but if you will be kind enough to focus my attention on the point you have in mind. I suppose I shall remember it.

MR. GOMPERS: I hand you a copy of that report.

MR. HILLQUIT: Thank you.

MR. GOMPERS: And which, Mr. Chairman, I hope, may be marked as an exhibit now, or when I am a witness before the Commission I shall have the opportunity of presenting it in my own evidence.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: What is it?

MR. GOMPERS: A report made by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the Rochester Convention of that Federation, November, 1912. I ask Mr. Hillquit whether he had kept informed upon the work of the American Federation of Labor, and he said that he did.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: And do you recognize that as being the paper described?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: And you can testify that it is authentic?

MR. HILLQUIT: Oh, yes, it is that.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Very good, let it go in evidence at this time.

(Received and marked "Hillquit's Exhibit A.")

MR. HILLQUIT: And I think I remember the contents pretty well now, Mr Gompers, after looking it over.

MR. GOMPERS: Mr. Hillquit, you have seen that pamphlet which I handed you, and which is a reprint of the report of the Executive Council to the Rochester American Federation of Labor Convention. You will find also a reprint in that same pamphlet of the report of the committee to which this declaration was referred and the action of the convention thereon.

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes.

MR. GOMPERS: Now, as an advocate of industrial unionism, will you point out to the Commission that from which you dissent?

MR. HILLQUIT: Why, but Mr. Gompers, I don't dissent. I stated, on the contrary, that the American Federation of Labor is rapidly and irresistibly drifting into industrial organization, and I am very glad to notice the process.

MR. GOMPERS: Of course, we are all, when there is anything good done, no matter how or by whom or under what circumstances, it affords us all satisfaction, but that is not the question.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: What was the question. whether or not, he dissented from anything said in there?

MR. HILLQUIT: From what view I dissented.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Do you dissent?

MR. HILLQUIT: I do not dissent.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: That answers it.

MR. GOMPERS: Then, sir, if you don't dissent from the declaration of the American Federation of Labor upon the subject of Industrial Unionism, will you please tell the Commission how it comes that Mr. Debs and many other Socialists, whose names I can mention at this time, advocate the dissolution of the American Federation of Labor on the question of Industrial Unionism?

MR. HILLQUIT: I cannot answer for the operation of the mind of Mr. Debs or anybody else, but I may point out the following, first: That the first declaration on Industrial Unionism promulgated by Mr. Debs and his comrades, when organizing the I. W. W., was adopted in 1905, and the declaration of the Federation of Labor was adopted in 1912, seven years later. That is, the American Federation of Labor once more followed in the wake of the Socialist agitation. The next point, Mr. Gompers, is that I understand the difference between the industrialism advocated by you and the industrialism advocated by the I. W. W., and particularly by Mr. Debs, to be that the industrial form of organization which you advocate consists of a federation of similar crafts or trades within one industry, not organically united to co-operate with each other in matters of common interest, and that the industrial form of organization advocated by Mr. Debs is an organic union of all crafts embodied within one industry.

MR. GOMPERS: You know, I had already questioned you upon the declarations made by Mr. Debs in 1905?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes.

MR. GOMPERS: My last question has reference to the article written by Mr. Debs, appealing to the unions within these past two weeks to secede and supplant the American Federation.

MR. HILLQUIT: You have asked me that before, Mr. Gompers, and I have answered before that the Socialist Party does not stand sponsor for those plans.

The Socialist Party is no more responsible for them than the American Federation of Labor would be for an expression of an executive member of its Board on the subject of religion.

MR. GOMPERS: In that article addressed to the United Mine Workers of America, and to the Western Federation of Miners, he says that the American Federation of Labor as an aggregation of craft unions has outlived its usefulness.

MR. HILLQUIT: I don't agree with this opinion.

MR. GOMPERS: I want to call your attention to the fact that the same article is published in the United Mine Workers Journal and in the Western Federation of Miners' official magazine, the Miners' Magazine. In the latter it is published without comment.

In the United Mine Workers' Journal it is published with an introductory editorial note strongly dissenting from that view. That editorial, on page 4 of the United Mine Workers' Journal of Thursday, May 14th, 1914, bears the heading, "Secession Not the Way to Unity." Do you agree with the view expressed by the editor of the United Mine Workers' Magazine in that heading?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes. The United Mine Workers' Journal, of course, which prints a comment, and the magazine of the Western Federation of Miners, are your organs; that is, both organizations belong to the American Federation of Labor.

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, and Debs advocated the secession of both those organizations from the American Federation of Labor, they to call a convention of all organizations and to form what he calls an industrial union, one big union to take the place of the American Federation of Labor.

MR. HILLQUIT: I am inclined to agree, Mr. Gompers, with the editorial you mention. I don't believe secession from the Federation is the way to reform. I think the A. F. of L. is fully capable of progress and

enlightenment, and I believe it is one of the functions of the Socialist Party to carry on such education as possible within the ranks of the A. F. of L., and I have no doubt at all that ultimately the members of the A. F. of L. will be just as enlightened and progressive as members of any other organization.

MR. GOMPERS: Of course, those who are so thoroughly educated that they can learn nothing, know it all, and we are not of that character.

MR. HILLQUIT: The leaders of the A. F. of L. are not of that character.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: That is not a question and really has no place in the record.

MR. GOMPERS: Mr. Chairman, nor was that an answer, nor was the statement made by Mr. Hillquit a pertinent answer to my question.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: I don't think so either.

MR. HILLQUIT: Pardon me. The Chairman of the Commission having agreed with the questioner, I must take exception to it. The question was, if you will recall, "Do you agree with this editorial or the thought expressed in it?" That certainly called for an answer as to whether or not I agreed with those views, and upon what grounds, and I do not see why my answer was not perfectly responsive. I would be, if tested by the strictest rules of evidence, and I think it should be before this Commission.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: I may be wrong. I made an off-hand decision there to get through with it. It is generally leading to an argument of a rather extraneous nature.

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, but when an opinion is called for, it must be expressed.

MR. GOMPERS: I say just this. This may appear as rather long drawn out, but I think that since the Commission has entered into this domain, it will obtain more fundamental information upon the construc-

tive work of the American Federation of Labor and the destructive tactics employed by other elements than can be obtained in any other way. If you did not care to have this discussion opened up wide, it might have been better then that it had not been opened up at all. I am perfectly willing to submit myself to the examination of Mr. Hillquit. He is a lawyer; I am not. I have no parchment nor diploma of which I can boast. Simply the plain, ordinary experience of a workingman, who has tried to learn something, and, as I have said this morning, when I am on the stand, I play this game with my cards down and face up, nothing to hide, nothing to equivocate, nothing to evade, and everything that this Commission will want to know in connection with the American Federation of Labor will be spread before you.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: You may proceed.

MR. GOMPERS: Conceding the fact that the American Federation of Labor and its rank and file and its officers are learning a bit, now, in view of the declaration on industrial unionism adopted by the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1912, I ask you what dissent you have to make, as a Socialist believing in industrial unionism, what dissent you have to make against this declaration?

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Without in any way undertaking to limit this examination, or to shorten its scope in any way, I am going to rule that the question has been fully answered by the witness, that he dissents in no way whatever, and he gave an explanation, if I am correct.

MR. HILLQUIT: May I reply to that, Mr. Chairman?

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Unless there is some dissent from the Commission, I will rule that that question has been asked and answered. You may proceed now to another question.

MR. GOMPERS: Mr. Chairman, I must yield, of course, even if I desire not to.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Certainly.

MR. GOMPERS: And I yield, and I hope I may do so gracefully. May I suggest this to Your Honors, that after the witness has said that he has no dissent to express from the declaration, he then said further that upon this very subject we need education from him and his associates.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: I have passed upon that.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you know Mr. William English Walling?

MR. HILLQUIT: Slightly.

MR. GOMPERS: How slightly?

MR. HILLQUIT: I have met him, spoken to him several times. I am not intimately acquainted with him.

MR. GOMPERS: But you know of him?

MR. HILLQUIT: Oh, yes.

MR. GOMPERS: And you have read some of his writings, have you not?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes.

MR. GOMPERS: He is a member of the Socialist Party?

MR. HILLQUIT: He surely was. Whether he is now I don't know.

MR. GOMPERS: You don't know now?

MR. HILLQUIT: No.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you know that in the New York Call on December 11, 1909, he said: "The Socialist Party has become a hissing and a by-word with the actual wage earners of America. It is becoming the party of two extremes: On the one side are a bunch of intellectuals like myself and Spargo and Hunter and Hillquit; on the other is a bunch of never-works, demagogues and would-be intellectuals, a veritable 'lumpen proletariat.' The average wage earners, the men who are really doing the class struggle, are outside. Above all else we must have the union man. No one has denounced the efforts of the American



Federation of Labor more than I, but I am forced to recognize that it comes much nearer to representing the working class than the Socialist Party, and unless we are able to shape our policy and our organization so as to meet the demands and incarnate the position of the workers, we will have failed of our mission." Do you assent or dissent from the expression of Mr. Walling on that subject?

MR. HILLQUIT: With a few qualifications I assent. But first a correction, Mr. Gompers. You got mixed up in your text somewhat. That is not an expression by Walling. It is an expression by A. M. Simons, contained in a private letter to Walling, which Walling published, although he had no business to. It is a heart-to-heart talk, such as perhaps you might have with an intimate friend on the A. F. of L. Board. I believe the reference to the "lumpen proletariat" is grossly exaggerated, and that the reference to the "intellectuals" is somewhat unjust. I think, however, that the statement that the Socialist Party must seek the support of the working class of this country is absolutely correct. The Socialist Party has been working along these lines for a number of years and has so far succeeded fairly well. I suppose it will succeed still more.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you recall a statement appearing in the New York Call of November 28th, 1909, made by Mr. John Spargo, in which he said: "In furtherance of the ambitions of a few men of small minds, and even smaller hearts, the whole movement is being dragged into the mire, and the heart of every sincere Socialist sickens with shame at the spectacle. No depth of degradation and dishonor has been reached by any capitalist party in its sordid strivings, which has not also been attained by American Socialists."?

MR. HILLQUIT: I recall that passage. I think it is a bit rhetorical, but we always do practice self-criti-

cism, which results in a process of purification and improvement.

MR. GOMPERS: What was the attitude of the Socialist Party then in existence toward the American Labor Union formed by Mr. Debs?

MR. HILLQUIT: The American Labor Union, if you will permit me to correct you, was not formed by Mr. Debs. The Socialist Party's attitude toward the American Labor Union was no different than its attitude toward the I. W. W. The Socialist Party as such did not take any sides in the quarrel between the American Labor Union and the A. F. of L.

MR. GOMPERS: Did not Mr. Debs and his associates of the American Railway Union form the American Labor Union?

MR. HILLQUIT: They did not.

MR. GOMPERS: Are you quite sure of that?

MR. HILLQUIT: I am, and I am surprised that you are not. The American Labor Union was formed by the United Association of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, the Western Federation of Miners, and the Western Labor Union at a convention of those organizations.\* The American Railway Union merged with the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth which published a paper of its own, and later developed into the Social Democracy of America.

MR. GOMPERS: This morning you expressed views which seemed to indicate that you believed in the constant, gradual, material improvement of the conditions of the working people as a thing which should be encouraged for the attainment of the ultimate ends of your party or your philosophy?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, sir.

MR. GOMPERS: Is it your opinion, then, that the declaration is true, that "the present social system is

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\*Held in Denver in 1902.

inevitably converting the workers into a propertyless proletariat, possessing nothing but their labor powers; is productive of an increase of misery, oppression, enslavement, debasement and exploitation”?

MR. HILLQUIT: Why, I think the passage in the main is correct. It was written about 50 years ago by Marx. It has been the subject of many controversies, the question turning on just what he meant by “misery, debasement,” and so on. But it is the general consensus of Socialist opinion that the number of the propertyless class of workers is on the increase, and that the working class, on the whole, gets proportionately a lesser share of the general national wealth from year to year. At the same time there is a noticeable and absolute improvement in the condition of at least a large section of the working class.

MR. GOMPERS: In your explanation as to the condition of society under Socialism, you spoke of the industries which have practically become socialized and may be taken over in their operation and control, and you said that smaller industries, with smaller tools, owned by the individual, would not come under collective control and ownership and management, but that they would be left to the individual—did you not?

MR. HILLQUIT: I said, there is nothing in the Socialist program requiring collective ownership of purely individual industries, not based upon hiring or exploitation of labor.

MR. GOMPERS: How long since has that distinction been made as between all the means of production and distribution and the definition which you now give?

MR. HILLQUIT: A very long time ago, Mr. Gompers.

MR. GOMPERS: I mean, authoritatively?

MR. HILLQUIT: I think authoritatively there never has been any different conception. It was first clearly expressed, as I believe, by Karl Kautsky, about a dozen years ago, or so.

MR. GOMPERS: How long has it been since that

declaration has been made by the American Socialist Party?

MR. HILLQUIT: There has not, at any time, to my knowledge, been a specific or formal declaration made; but my understanding is that it has always been the theoretical conception of the American Socialist Party.

MR. GOMPERS: The American Socialist Party has always declared, until quite recently, for the nationalization of all of the means of production and distribution, has it not?

MR. HILLQUIT: I don't think the word "all" occurs in any authoritative exposition of the principles of the Party.

MR. GOMPERS: But by the omission of the word "all," and without any qualification, nevertheless no other inference could be drawn from that declaration, could it?

MR. HILLQUIT: I would not say that was true.

MR. GOMPERS: Suppose I should say that this court room belonged to the State of New York or the City of New York, it would not be necessary for me to say that all the entire court room belonged—

MR. HILLQUIT: No, not in that connection, but I should think that the comparison is somewhat unfortunate. If I should say that Mr. Gompers can be heard by the people in the audience, it would not necessarily imply that he could be heard by all.

MR. GOMPERS: For instance, if you put it this way: "The Socialist Party demands the nationalization of the means of production and distribution." The absence of the word "all" there would not at all minimize the extent, would it?

MR. HILLQUIT: In my conception of it, Mr. Gompers, and I can give you only my understanding of it, I should say that the Socialist Party has always stood for the collective ownership of *social* tools of production and distribution.

MR. GOMPERS: As a matter of fact, isn't it so? We need not quibble—

MR. HILLQUIT: (Interrupting): I am not quibbling.

MR. GOMPERS: Isn't it so that it has been only within the past two or three years that the Socialist Party has made that distinction?

MR. HILLQUIT: No, Mr. Gompers. You may have noticed it within the past two or three years, but the entire Socialist philosophy has always been based upon the conception that the tools of the work have become social in character and consequently Socialism always dealt with the social tool and never with the individual.

MR. GOMPERS: I refer to the declaration excluding any private property.

MR. HILLQUIT: There was no such exclusion at any time. Private property in articles of consumption has always been recognized and sanctioned by the Socialists; and as to the means of production, it is not my understanding—and I think I am more or less conversant with the literature on the subject—that it ever was intended to embrace within that category the individual tool or the individual industry.

MR. GOMPERS: Take, for instance, the boot and shoe industry. There are shoemakers and bootmakers who are engaged in artistic shoemaking and make the whole shoe, using but few tools. If the boot and shoe industry became socialized, and owned and controlled collectively, would there be a separate arrangement for the artistic boot and shoemaker?

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, Mr. Gompers, I don't see any reason in the world why the artistic boot and shoemaker should not continue to be an artistic boot and shoemaker under Socialism. I don't believe there would be any socialization of the individual shoe; at least, I should not wear it, if it were.

MR. GOMPERS: The answer, of course, is quite germane.

MR. HILLQUIT: To the question.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you regard it as a fact that in

the United States "the bourgeoisie has converted the position of the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science into its paid wage laborers"?

MR. HILLQUIT: Why, it is somewhat exaggerated, but substantially true. I can speak for the lawyers. (Laughter.)

MR. GOMPERS: Do you believe that the statement, quoting again from Socialist authority: "Chattel slavery is dead, a greater slavery has grown up in its place. Wage slavery is so much greater than chattel slavery as the white people in this country are more numerous than the black people"?

MR. HILLQUIT: I think that is substantially correct.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you agree with the estimate that in the United States the number of men out of work are more than five million?

MR. HILLQUIT: At some time or another. I believe the census of 1900 gives the number of partially unemployed during the year at 6,000,000.

MR. GOMPERS: Which authority?

MR. HILLQUIT: The 1900 census. The figure is based on the total of workers unemployed during all or part of the year.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you regard the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels as on the whole correct, as correct to-day as ever?

MR. HILLQUIT: That was published in 1848.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you regard the general principles laid down in that manifesto as on the whole as correct to-day as ever?

MR. HILLQUIT: The general principles, yes. The details, perhaps not.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you accept or repudiate the term, or the idea of communism?

MR. HILLQUIT: The term "Communist" as used in the Communist Manifesto signified something entirely different from what it signifies now. What the authors of the Communist Manifesto meant by the

term "Communist" is what we mean to-day by the term "Socialist."

MR. GOMPERS: I should judge from the testimony you gave this morning that you do not accept the theory of cataclysm as a means to bring about the co-operative commonwealth?

MR. HILLQUIT: I do not believe in the cataclysm theory.

MR. GOMPERS: Your answers would indicate that the Socialist predictions of several years ago have scarcely been verified, including the inability of any government, either to destroy or regulate the corporate existence of capital, such as trusts?

MR. HILLQUIT: The question is, whether I admit that this prediction was wrong?

MR. GOMPERS: I simply want, if I can, to have you verify, or rather, re-state, by yes or no, or in such a way as you may care to whether there is to be in our society an evolutionary continuous improvement in the condition of the workers up to the point that may be regarded as a goal or a constant improvement?

MR. HILLQUIT: You asked two question, there, Mr. Gompers. As to the ability of the Government to regulate or destroy business corporations or trusts, I still believe that the Government is quite incapable of doing so.

As to the process of gradual improvement, I believe in it. But whether such process of gradual improvement will eventually lead up to Socialism without violent, social or political disturbance, or civil war, I don't know.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you not see a departure from Marx' conception in the development of the joint stock company?

MR. HILLQUIT: Decidedly not. On the contrary a verification of his theory of concentration of capital.

MR. GOMPERS: Then you think that the growth and ownership of the joint stock company is a refutation

of the theory of the development of the capitalist classes, or Marx' theory of the capitalist class?

MR. HILLQUIT: I don't think so. On the contrary I think, as I said, it is a verification of it.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you regard the population of the United States, as divided into a small master class and a vast servant class?

MR. HILLQUIT: No such conception was ever expressed by any authoritative Socialist author. What you read in the Communist Manifesto is an assertion that the population tends to develop into such two classes. That condition has by far not been reached in the United States.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you believe that the children of the working class are doomed to ignorance, drudgery, toil and darkened lives in the United States?

MR. HILLQUIT: Very largely, Mr. Gompers.

MR. GOMPERS: When you say that we have secured, or are securing, a material improvement in the general conditions of the working people, and the people generally, it does not conform to your latest answer. Which is true, your latest answer or your answer this morning?

MR. HILLQUIT: Both are absolutely true. We have improved conditions somewhat, but our achievements are as nothing compared with what is still to come. I presume that, as president of the American Federation of Labor, you know that we still have the evil of child labor with us in an abominably large extent.

MR. GOMPERS: I have been admonished that I must not argue with you, and I have no desire to do so. But I want to call your attention to the fact that you said just now that you agreed largely with this statement: "The children of the working class are doomed to ignorance, drudgery, toil and darkened lives." If you say that this is a fact, how does it conform with your statement this morning as to the general gradual



improvement of the conditions of the working class, which, of course, includes the children?

MR. HILLQUIT: If you will read the document further, you will get your answer. The children of the working class are doomed to the lives described unless something very radical is done to relieve them from it.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you believe, Mr. Hillquit, in collective bargaining between workmen and their employers?

MR. HILLQUIT: I do.

MR. GOMPERS: During the pendency of an agreement, it may prevent workmen from honorably asking for an increase in wages in the event of industrial conditions improving. It also has the tendency, does it not, to prevent reduction in wages in the event of a falling off in the trade?

MR. HILLQUIT: I think it does both, but the principal consideration, in my mind, is that the practice of collective bargaining causes the workers to unite and to act collectively, and the employers likewise. The struggles between them are thus better organized. It also tends to strengthen the solidarity of the workers.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you know that several sections of the Socialist Party and labor papers, their official papers, encouraged and aided a small organization known as the United Boot and Shoe Makers, in opposition to the Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union?

MR. HILLQUIT: I think you are going back again to the old days of the Socialist Labor Party. Is that when the struggle occurred?

MR. GOMPERS: I asked you whether you had noticed it within these past three months?

MR. HILLQUIT: No, sir.

MR. GOMPERS: It could have occurred without your knowing it?

MR. HILLQUIT: Oh, yes. I cannot follow or control the 300 Socialist papers we have in this country.

MR. GOMPERS: Is it not true, Mr. Hillquit, that the radical movement in Europe has been greatly changed in the past 20 years?

MR. HILLQUIT: You mean the Socialist movement?

MR. GOMPERS: Let me put the question in this form: Is it or is it not a fact that the radical movement in Europe has been greatly changed in the past 20 years, mainly in these respects—I want to read the questions and then if you should desire that I read them separately, I shall be very glad to do so.

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, sir.

MR. GOMPERS: 1.—In the general recognition of the necessity to work for democratic rule as the first step for the welfare of the masses.

Would you prefer to answer now?

MR. HILLQUIT: I would rather hear all questions.

MR. GOMPERS: 2.—Consequently, in concentrating political efforts on obtaining uniform suffrage for male citizens, with just representation in legislative bodies, and an influence in administration proportionate to the powers of the people in general.

3.—In conducting the struggles of the masses in European countries to obtain rights long exercised by the citizens of the United States.

4.—In abandoning the theory of the inevitable social cataclysm predicted by Marx, and falling into line with the labor movement of Great Britain and the United States, the first step being toward trade union organization, which in Germany has come to dominate all great branches of the social movement of the masses, in the adoption and energetic promotion of the plan of voluntary co-operation, the necessary function of which is independence of the state.

If you prefer, I shall halt here.

MR. HILLQUIT: You may. The Socialist movement abroad has not changed or modified its program

within the last 20 years. It has changed its practical methods somewhat. It always does. It learns from experience. It is not any more conservative to-day than it was 20 years ago. It has struggled for political rights and universal suffrage ever since the existence of an organized Socialist movement in Europe. Some of its political demands are for rights which we in the United States already possess. Others are for rights which we do not possess, as for instance, proportional representation.

On the economic field, the Socialist parties in Europe are, as a rule, considerably in advance of the labor movement here, for the simple reason that they have accomplished more than we have accomplished here. The co-operation of the Socialist parties with the trade unions is by no manner of means a novel feature. It always has existed, and, in Continental Europe, most of the trade unions were directly created, organized and called into life by the Socialist parties. The German trade union movement does not dominate the labor movement of Germany. It is co-ordinate with the Socialist movement, except that the voice of Social Democracy is somewhat more authoritative in the joint counsels of the two wings of the labor movement.

What else have you there, Mr. Gompers? Have you any other questions that I have not answered?

MR. GOMPERS: I want to ask you: You say that the demands of the organized workers of Germany are far in advance of those of the United States. Are the material conditions of the working people of Germany better than they are in the United States?

MR. HILLQUIT: I think they are decidedly better, because they are more secure. The worst feature of the labor conditions in America is the worker's insecurity of existence, the dread of the morrow, and I think that has been largely obviated in Germany through a comprehensive system of social insurance,

which takes care of the workers in case of sickness, permanent disability, accident and old age.

The problem of unemployment is also not as acute among German workmen as it is among American workmen. And, taking it all in all, I think that the German workman is considerably better off than the American workman.

MR. GOMPERS: Supposing the representatives of the German workmen disagree with that view, would you think you would have cause to revise your judgment?

MR. HILLQUIT: No, sir. That alone would not cause me to revise my judgment, because it would imply that those German labor representatives had a better knowledge of the conditions of workers, both in Germany and the United States, and until I were sure of that, I would not revise my judgment.

MR. GOMPERS: Have you read Mr. Legien's book which he has recently published?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, sir.

MR. GOMPERS: As to the rights of German workers, do you know that public meetings, when held in Germany, must be under police authority?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, sir; all political meetings of any kind—and it is very objectionable, but it is not half as bad——

MR. GOMPERS: Now, you are arguing with me.

MR. HILLQUIT: No, sir, I am answering.

MR. GOMPERS: I am asking you as to the conditions in Germany.

MR. HILLQUIT: It is a broad question, Mr. Gompers, and I cannot always answer just so as to please you. Your question was about the conditions of the German workman with reference to the right of suffrage and free speech, was it not?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: My answer to that is, that in Germany the workers, not as workers, but as citizens, are subject to certain police supervision in all of their

political meetings. And I say, with all that, they exercise on the whole, greater freedom of speech and greater personal security than the workers here. Germany has never had a case like Colorado or West Virginia.

MR. GOMPERS: Do you know that in Germany they permit no language to be spoken at any meeting other than the German language?

MR. HILLQUIT: I don't think they know any other language but German. But, really, Mr. Gompers—

MR. GOMPERS: I suppose that we, all of us, can be facetious, if we want to.

MR. HILLQUIT: Occasionally.

MR. GOMPERS: But I asked you this question, whether it is a fact?

MR. HILLQUIT: I understand that the police authorities are present at every political meeting in Germany, and have the right to close the meeting in case of certain utterances, and that for that purpose they must be familiar with the language the speaker uses. The German police have the right to prohibit the use of foreign languages at public meetings.

MR. GOMPERS: I agree with you in your remarks as to Colorado, but I do not as to the German proposition. Do you know that the German trade unions are forbidden by law to deal with any political question?

MR. HILLQUIT: Not *any* political question, as far as my knowledge goes. I know that the trade unions do deal with political questions in Germany. They support the Socialist Party of Germany officially.

MR. GOMPERS: If, for instance, I say to you, sir, that quite recently the American Federation of Labor asked a representative of the German trade union movement to transmit a communication for International Peace to other countries, and the officer of that organization could not comply with the request without violating the law and endangering the existence

of the organization, do you regard that as evidence that larger liberties have been attained in Germany than in the United States?

MR. HILLQUIT: I would not regard those instances as evidences of political liberty by any manner of means.

MR. GOMPERS: Would it not be an infringement upon the liberty of the German workmen, the German citizen?

MR. HILLQUIT: It would be.

MR. GOMPERS: Supposing I tell you that actually occurred?

MR. HILLQUIT: I will be very much interested.

MR. GOMPERS: I will tell you that it did.

MR. HILLQUIT: I thank you.

MR. GOMPERS: In Germany there is considerable immigration from surrounding countries, particularly from Italy, and I think the Balkans, this last year or so. The police have encouraged employers to import strike breakers into Germany. The police have given them permits which are required to be renewed periodically, and when one of those men becomes converted to the cause of the workmen on strike, his permit is revoked, and he is deported to his country. Do you see the influence that this must have upon the class struggle among the workmen in Germany?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, sir, decidedly.

MR. GOMPERS: Inasmuch as the speaking of a foreign language at any public meeting is forbidden, do you see the effect it must have upon poor workmen who have been brought into Germany and held in that benighted position?

MR. HILLQUIT: I see that, Mr. Gompers.

MR. GOMPERS: You would not regard that as a very great liberty?

MR. HILLQUIT: I would infer from that that they still have capitalists in Germany, also.

MR. GOMPERS: Of course, we have not forgotten

that fact—I don't suppose we can be permitted to forget that or that you will permit us to forget that fact. I do not want you, Mr. Hillquit, to imagine that by my questions I am making comparisons that are invidious to any other country, or that I am purblind to the wrongs or the outrages committed here, but I would ask you, as the authorized representative of the Socialist Party, to bear in mind that when you speak of greater liberty and better conditions of the German workmen as the result of the movement of Germany's workmen, that you ought to have these facts in mind, and I ask you whether you have?

MR. HILLQUIT: I have this in mind, that when I spoke of better conditions, it was a question of material conditions. That was what you asked. When you go into the question of political institutions, and political liberty, you must not forget that you deal with Prussia, which is a Kingdom, and Germany, which is an Empire, and the United States, which is a Republic. But I do wish to reiterate the statement that with the Socialist representatives in the Reichstag, 111 of them, and the Socialist trade unions in Germany, the unspeakable outrages we have had here—and I do not have to mention them again—could not have occurred in Germany. That is all.

MR. GOMPERS: Haven't they occurred in Germany?

MR. HILLQUIT: They have not.

MR. GOMPERS: The right of meeting is forbidden, and the workmen yield. When they do that there is no conflict?

MR. HILLQUIT: They have not killed women and children in labor conflicts in Germany, and the Government of Germany has not tolerated it. When an assault was committed on the part of some soldiers upon one crippled workman, the entire nation was aroused, and the Socialist faction in the Reichstag almost brought about the fall of the ministry on that account.

MR. GOMPERS: The incident to which you refer has an entirely different application, and the person involved was a public official and not a workman.

MR. HILLQUIT: A shoemaker, sir.

MR. GOMPERS: Isn't this the fact, that in the United States, the workman having become impregnated with the fundamental principles of liberty, propose to exert those rights and, as compared to the willingness of workmen of other countries, to yield rather than to assert—

MR. HILLQUIT: It is not a fact, because the workmen you refer to have not had time to become impregnated with any so-called fundamental principles of American liberty. They were Bohemians, Hungarians, Italians, Austrians and foreigners of all kinds, a very short time in the country. The attitude of the militia they began resenting when they began being burned alive and clubbed to death.

MR. GOMPERS: There is nothing in resenting a wrong and an outrage. Apart from the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth wherein does the purposes of your movement practically differ from the social reform movement which is effecting corrections and improvements in the present social system, and which aims at complete social justice, and a maximum liberty and happiness for mankind, such as the American labor movement? The American trade union movement, the American Federation of Labor?

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Gompers, I am not trying to establish any differences between the Socialist movement and the labor movement. On the contrary, it seems to me, you have been trying to establish them, and vainly. The Socialists see a difference in degree only, but they see absolutely no antagonism between the activities of the Socialist movement and the economic labor movement. We claim that they go very well hand in hand; that each of them can exist and



thrive with the support of the other, and we are perfectly willing to lend our part of the support, Mr. Gompers. Whatever criticism we have of leaders or methods are purely in the nature of friendly suggestions, and we are not here, or anywhere else, to criticise the organized labor movement of this country, particularly as against the public at large. We consider ourselves as a part of the labor movement.

MR. GOMPERS: Now, Mr. Hillquit, permit me to say this—may I, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: If it is any statement other than a question, I wish you would defer it until such time as you take the witness stand, Mr. Gompers.

MR. GOMPERS: What is your opinion, Mr. Hillquit, upon the general strike for the subversion of the present system?

MR. HILLQUIT: I think it is Utopian. I do not believe it is a feasible or realizable proposition at all.

Whenever the workers of this country are ready for a general strike in order to change the present system, they will be intelligent enough and sufficiently well organized to change the system directly by legislative methods.

MR. GOMPERS: Legislative methods?

MR. HILLQUIT: If they are strong enough to win out by a general strike, they will be strong enough to take hold of the machinery of government, and effect the change of system without a general strike.

MR. GOMPERS: What do you mean by legislation—the enactment of law?

MR. HILLQUIT: The enactment of a law, a decree, an ordinance, or any other mandate which can be executed.

MR. GOMPERS: Expropriating all who may own property and turning it over to the Government or the Co-operative Commonwealth?

MR. HILLQUIT: I have not said, "Expropriate." It may be accomplished by method of purchase.

MR. GOMPERS: Well, say—take hold——

MR. HILLQUIT (Interrupting): Take hold — take control and possession of.

MR. GOMPERS: Well, by revolution?

MR. HILLQUIT: Oh, I suppose it would probably be called a revolution anyhow, but it may be a very peaceful one, I don't know.

MR. GOMPERS: By confiscation?

MR. HILLQUIT: Not as we are inclined at present. At present we are in the market for buying out the capitalists.

MR. GOMPERS: By compensation?

MR. HILLQUIT: By compensation. However, again, Mr. Gompers, I do not guarantee the acts of the next generation. The capitalists may become naughty and the people may be displeased with them and take things, just as we took the negro slaves from their owners.

MR. GOMPERS: You have an idea that the taking might be for compensation?

MR. HILLQUIT: It might be, yes.

MR. GOMPERS: Have you an idea how such a proposition could be financed?

MR. HILLQUIT: How it could be financed? We haven't reached that point yet, Mr. Gompers——

MR. GOMPERS (Interrupting): No?

MR. HILLQUIT (Continuing): I suppose that if paid, it will be paid in some Government securities.

MR. GOMPERS: I take it that you are not in favor of what is generally known as State Socialism?

MR. HILLQUIT: I am not.

MR. GOMPERS: Not even as a step towards a democratic Socialism?

MR. HILLQUIT: If it were State Socialism, it would not be a step towards democratic Socialism.

MR. GOMPERS: Are not the present differences within the Socialist parties in the United States sig-

nificant of fatal differences in the management of a revolutionary society?

MR. HILLQUIT: No, there are no fatal differences, Mr. Gompers. We have some differences of opinion within the Socialist Party, sometimes lively ones. I hope you have them in the American Federation of Labor. But we, nevertheless, manage to keep our organization and to work for a common purpose. I presume there will be strong differences of opinion, and some fights, even under Socialism. I should not want it to be otherwise.

MR. GOMPERS: I mean as to liberty. Under Socialism will there be liberty of individual action, and liberty in the choice of occupation and refusal to work?

MR. HILLQUIT: Plenty of it, Mr. Gompers.

MR. GOMPERS: I take it that you have no apprehension that under a democratic Socialist management, the administrators could or would attempt to exploit the workers under them, and one set of laborers would exploit another set; the lazy office-holders, the industrious artisans; the strong and bolder, the weaker and more modest ones, and the failures, the economically successful.

MR. HILLQUIT: I think it quite likely that there will be some abuses of that kind. Even under Socialism men will still remain human, no doubt. But, Mr. Gompers, we have every reason to believe that they will be small and insignificant as compared with present abuses, for the system will be based on a greater democracy and self-government, and will thus provide for proper means of remedy. Furthermore, there will be no great incentive to corruption such as we have in private gain under capitalism.

MR. GOMPERS: In the event that the Co-operative Commonwealth should be established, taking it for granted for the sake of the question, that it is possible, it would have for its present purpose the highest material and social and moral improvement of the con-

dition of the workers attainable at that time, would it not?

MR. HILLQUIT: I think so.

MR. GOMPERS: And would there be any higher aim after that is established?

MR. HILLQUIT: Oh, there will be plenty more. There will be new aims coming every day.

MR. GOMPERS: Still more?

MR. HILLQUIT: Still further.

MR. GOMPERS: Still higher?

MR. HILLQUIT: Still higher.

MR. GOMPERS: Now, if that is so, isn't it a fact that it is not at all a goal, but simply a transitory ideal?

MR. HILLQUIT: Sure. It is our goal to-day. It is a transitory goal. There will be a movement toward a higher goal to-morrow.

MR. GOMPERS: In other words, you think even if that condition of affairs should be possible, it, like the conditions of to-day, is transitory and continually tending toward improvement?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes.

MR. GOMPERS: And not a goal?

MR. HILLQUIT: Not an ultimate goal. There is no such thing as an ultimate social goal.

MR. GOMPERS: In the Socialist state, would you have each worker rewarded by the full product of his labor, or by an apportionment of the product according to his demands? In other words, would the rule be, to each according to his deeds, or to each according to his needs?

MR. HILLQUIT: I think neither, strictly speaking. I don't suppose his Socialist regime would at once radically change established standards of compensation. I think it would have to grow up and be built up on the existing basis. And I think it will largely be a system of salaries and wages, as nearly as possible, in proportion to the usefulness of the service—but they

will be larger than they are to-day, because they will include the profits now paid to the idle capitalists.

MR. GOMPERS: So, as a matter of fact, then, if the Co-operative Commonwealth is not a goal, is not an end, then why term it Socialism, and why not term it the ordinary, natural development of the human race to a higher and better state of society?

MR. HILLQUIT: We may term it the ordinary and natural development of the human race to the point of Socialism. In other words, Mr. Gompers, we divide the history of mankind pretty arbitrarily into certain periods. We speak of the period of Slavery, the period of Feudalism, the period of Capitalism. Now we foresee the next step in development, and call it the period of Socialism. We cannot draw a line of demarcation where it starts or where it vanishes. It will certainly not be permanent. There will be something superior to it some time. In the meantime every stage of development is superior to the preceding stage; and by the same token as Capitalism is superior to Feudalism, Socialism is superior to Capitalism. That is all.

MR. GOMPERS: You simply apply it as a term, and not an end?

MR. HILLQUIT: Not an ultimate end in social development, no.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Any members of the Commission desire to ask Mr. Hillquit any questions?

COMMISSIONER BALLARD: I should like to ask him a question or two.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Mr. Ballard, Mr. Hillquit, would like to ask you some questions.

COMMISSIONER BALLARD: You were speaking of the conditions of Socialism and of the conditions of the workers under it being different from the present. If we had an ideal condition of Socialism, would not there be some of the people who would be workers, some of the people who would still be managers?

MR. HILLQUIT: They would all be workers. Some would be engaged in management and supervision, some in manual work and some in the mental work. No doubt there would be a division of functions.

MR. BALLARD: But you would not allow any, no matter what their division was, to acquire or have larger advantages than the lowest worker?

MR. HILLQUIT: I would not put it that way. We would not permit anybody to enjoy a workless income by virtue of his private ownership of the tool which society needs for its wealth production. But we certainly recognize that human nature is diversified; that we have different attitudes and different abilities. The work would be organized and the functions divided—

COMMISSIONER BALLARD: And different rewards?

MR. HILLQUIT: And different rewards, no doubt, would be allowed for services of differing importance—at least for some time.

COMMISSIONER BALLARD: You spoke this morning of the American Federation of Labor and of its being somewhat antiquated in its methods. Could you, in a short time, tell us what changes you would suggest that should come over the American Federation of Labor in order to make it more suitable to the needs of the present time?

MR. HILLQUIT: I think those changes are coming anyhow. The changes, to my mind, are these: The tendencies towards closer alliance and amalgamation of the organizations in kindred trades and crafts. I think the political attitude of the American Federation of Labor also stands in need of a change. The American Federation of Labor does not take advantage of the great inherent political powers residing within that organization. I believe that by throwing itself on one chimera after another, and by following the policy of "punishing friends and rewarding enemies," it dissipates a good deal of the very great power which the organized workers of all other coun-

tries use with excellent effect ; and I think the direction of further progress of the American Federation of Labor lies in the line of greater solidarity within the organization, and in the political independence of the workers.

COMMISSIONER HARRIMAN : I want to ask a question or two there, Mr. Hillquit. It has been partially asked by Mr. Ballard, but I did not quite get the answer. Isn't it inevitable that some men, who have superior mentality and driving force, will always get ahead of other men? And if that is so, how are you going to prevent the capitalist class from forging to the front and getting into power?

MR. HILLQUIT : Mrs. Harriman, there is no objection to a person of superior quality or merit getting ahead of the man of inferior merit, or getting larger reward or compensation. The Socialist objection is to the men of inferior quality or intellect getting ahead of the brainy man by reason of his ownership of the tools, by reason of his capital. To-day, any person who happens to be lucky enough to be born to wealth and who inherits a good deal of stocks and bonds, may be devoid of any brains, of any intellect, but will get a princely income nevertheless, while a foreman or other employe may be a very much wiser man, and yet get a mere pittance. That is the Socialist objection.

COMMISSIONER HARRIMAN : Then you do not object to the whole capitalist class—only to individuals of the class who are wealthy?

MR. HILLQUIT : No, we object to the capitalist class as a class that derives its income without work from the ownership of capital. If any member of the capitalist class can or will render useful services to society, he is entitled to compensation for such services ; but we object to any compensation being given to him for his good fortune of being born to wealth and to

his getting dividends, whether he is good or bad, capable, or incapable, productive or otherwise.

COMMISSIONER LENNON: Mr. Hillquit, I want you to answer a question a little more elaborately than you have, or than I have understood you. I understood you to say that the coming of Socialism must be through growth, through evolution, through the development of the human race to higher and better conditions, and that the workers must strive to attain better conditions, so far as their industrial life is concerned, and social life, and their mental activity.

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes.

COMMISSIONER LENNON: Then you do not believe in the theory that you must grind a man's nose to the extreme before he will rebel and help to bring about better conditions?

MR. HILLQUIT: By no manner of means; just the contrary.

COMMISSIONER LENNON: Has that not been the theory expressed by a very large number of Socialists up to recent times?

MR. HILLQUIT: It has not. The distinguishing feature between the Socialists, or as we may term it more accurately, the Social Democrats, and the Anarchists, is that the Anarchists adopt as their motto, "The worse, the better." Whereas, the Socialists' motto is, "The better, the better."

COMMISSIONER BALLARD: I would like to ask you, if you please, one other question. As I gather, you want the tools to be owned by the commonwealth. Would you allow any man by his own efforts, to acquire property, and allow him to enjoy the use of that himself?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes.

COMMISSIONER BALLARD: Would you require that his children should start out the same as any other person's children, or would you allow him to pass on to them the dollars and cents that he had acquired?



MR. HILLQUIT: In other words, would we allow inheritance under Socialism? Personally I think we probably would. Understand, I have no warrant to speak for the future, but under Socialism there would be no private ownership of industries, machinery, or any other means of exploiting a fellow man. There would be private ownership only in the means of consumption and enjoyment. And society at large is not very much concerned whether you consume your unproductive savings in a year, or preserve them for ten years later, or pass them on to your children. So long as there is no possibility for the exploitation of your fellow men by the ownership of the social tool—of the instrument of labor,—so long I do not see anything in the Socialist program that would prohibit the use and enjoyment of private property and its transmission to posterity.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: Mr. Hillquit, your theory is then,—I want to get myself straightened—

MR. HILLQUIT: Get it.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: In regard to this question started by Mrs. Harriman, your theory is that it would be impossible, under the system, to misuse the ability to accumulate, is that it?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, sir.

MR. GOMPERS: In other words the incentive would be gone for dishonest exploitation?

MR. HILLQUIT: Exactly, dishonest exploitation or exploitation of any kind would become impossible.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: I was simply accenting exploitations with the other adjective.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: The Commission will now stand adjourned until to-morrow morning, at ten o'clock.

### THIRD SESSION.

## The Aims and Methods of the American Federation of Labor

CHAIRMAN WALSH: The Commission will please come to order. All right, Mr. Counsel, we are ready to proceed.

Samuel Gompers, called as a witness, testified as follows:

MR. THOMPSON: For the purposes of the record, give us your name, address and occupation.

MR. GOMPERS: Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, residing in the City of New York. The headquarters of the American Federation of Labor are at Washington, D. C.

MR. THOMPSON: How long, Mr. Gompers, have you been President of the American Federation of Labor?

MR. GOMPERS: The American Federation of Labor was formed in 1881, in Pittsburgh, when I was elected its first president, and with the exception of two terms, I have been President of the American Federation of Labor from that time.

MR. THOMPSON: Mr. Gompers, what trades, generally speaking, does the American Federation of Labor include?

MR. GOMPERS: It covers practically the field of industry throughout the country.

MR. THOMPSON: And there are no limitations as to membership in it on the part of any body of workers?

MR. GOMPERS: There are none. The only requirement, in so far as the American Federation is concerned, is that it shall be composed of wage-earners.

MR. THOMPSON: If you can, Mr. Gompers, I would like you to state the trades which are, as a matter of fact, affiliated, and if you cannot, I would like to have you submit that at some time to the Commission in written form.

MR. GOMPERS: I have it in print, sir. The American Federation of Labor prints a directory of all the organizations affiliated with it and a list of the organizations which are not affiliated, but which are regarded by the American Federation of Labor as having common policies and common polity, even though unaffiliated. I shall submit to you a copy of that directory for such purposes as you may desire.

MR. THOMPSON: Mr. Gompers, what is the form of the organization of the American Federation of Labor?

MR. GOMPERS: The American Federation of Labor, as its name implies, is a federation. It is not, as it is often mistakenly called, an organization, but a federation. It is a federation of organizations, each of which has its own government and determines its own needs and requirements in the light of the experience of the members of the organization. This right in the beginning has been proclaimed and has been adhered to as consistently as possible in the history of the American Federation of Labor. The Federation has no power except that which is yielded and conceded to it by the organizations which make up the Federation.

MR. THOMPSON: Has the Federation of Labor got a Constitution, so-called, or Articles of Organization?

MR. GOMPERS: It has.

MR. THOMPSON: Have you those present, Mr. Gompers?

MR. GOMPERS: I have, sir.

MR. THOMPSON: Would you mind giving a copy to the Commission?

MR. GOMPERS: Very glad to hand you one now, sir. It is the Constitution as amended and adopted at the

last convention of the American Federation of Labor at Seattle, November, 1913.

I can now, sir, give you a list of the affiliated organizations. There are 110 national and international unions. There are five industrial departments. There are 42 State federations of labor. There are 623 city central bodies, or local city federations of the local trades unions in the cities or towns, and there are 642 local trade and federated unions, directly attached to the American Federation of Labor as local unions, and whose chartered existence to the American Federation of Labor will continue until such time as there will be a sufficient number in each particular calling or trade so that a national union may be formed from these locals, and set up in business as a sovereign entity in the trade or the calling or the industry covered by these local unions. I hand you here, sir, a copy of this directory, issued on January the 12th, 1914, containing the names and addresses of the executive officers of the National Trade Union, the department, the State federation, the central body or the local and federal labor unions.

MR. THOMPSON: Mr. Gompers, how does the organization of the American Federation of Labor express itself? Does it hold convention, or has it got officers?

MR. GOMPERS: It has.

MR. THOMPSON: What conventions does it hold, and what officers has it?

MR. GOMPERS: The conventions are held annually, and have for many years been held in the month of November of each year. The officers consist of a President, eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer. The eleven officers constituting the Executive Council.

MR. THOMPSON: What jurisdiction and authority does the convention have? Is it the supreme law-making body of the Federation?

MR. GOMPERS: It is, to the fullest limit; and yet, within the limitations of the authority and power conceded to the Federation by the constituent or federated sovereign organizations. If I may be permitted to use the simile we have formed our American Federation of Labor practically after the make-up of the Government of the United States, both in its Federal jurisdiction and State sovereignty, and in the system by which the Federal Government exercises only such powers as are conceded to the United States by the States.

MR. THOMPSON: The right of secession, Mr. Gompers, however, remains with the local union, does it not?

MR. GOMPERS: With the affiliated unions. No one can question the legal right within the Federation of an organization to secede or withdraw. There is a moral obligation, a spirit of comraderie, a spirit of patriotism, a spirit of endeavoring to be of mutual assistance.

MR. THOMPSON: In case of the withdrawal or secession of an international union which has been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, are any coercive methods used by the American Federation of Labor to cause the International Union to withdraw its secession?

MR. GOMPERS: None, sir. As a matter of fact, the Western Federation of Miners, for instance, withdrew from the American Federation of Labor about 1896. There were many efforts, many suggestions made, to have local unions belonging to the Western Federation of Miners become part of the American Federation of Labor as local unions. Not only was that discouraged, but the proposal was repudiated. And that is equally true with national organizations which are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We feel that it ought to be the duty of every wage worker to belong to the union of his trade or his calling, and that it is the duty of a local union or a trade or calling

to belong to the national or international union of that trade and calling, and that it is equally the moral duty of every organized body, bona fide organized body of workmen, to belong to the American Federation of Labor; but as to coercive methods, they are not employed.

MR. THOMPSON: Where an international union, Mr. Gompers, has joined the American Federation of Labor, and, at the convention resolutions are passed relating to the trade of that international union, and the international union refuses to carry out the order of the convention, what is done then? What power has the American Federation of Labor?

MR. GOMPERS: It has no powers to enforce its judgment. There is but one instance that I recall, in which an organization, having agreed in advance to abide by the decision of the Executive Council sitting as a board of arbitration in a dispute between it and two other organizations, refused to abide when the decision was rendered against it. It was then decided that the organization's charter, or its chartered relations with the American Federation of Labor would cease, and it did upon a certain date, but the organization, a year after, re-affiliated upon a declaration in the convention to that effect.

MR. THOMPSON: And the only actual power outside of the moral power that the A. F. of L. has, is the power of expulsion from membership, is that right?

MR. GOMPERS: From membership in the American Federation of Labor.

MR. THOMPSON: In the American Federation of Labor?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir. And I ought to say, sir, that that can only be accomplished when, upon roll call at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, two-thirds of the votes are cast for such revocation of charter or disassociation of that organization from the Federation.

MR. THOMPSON: Mr. Gompers, you have spoken about the moral force of the American Federation of Labor, and the allied organizations. Have you found that to be effective in the dealings of the international union, one with another?

MR. GOMPERS: The most effective of any influence and power. As a matter of fact, the experience of the men in our movement has shown one fact standing out in bold relief, that every movement of workmen which has had a system of government by which force or compulsion have been attempted to be practiced, has aroused the resentment and repudiation of the masses and has led to dissolution, while the efforts to exert a moral influence upon the doings of men and of women has led to magnificent results. In other words the workers are just human beings. And when men are told that they must do something at the peril of their organized existence, or that they must do something at the peril of their personal existence, there is a spirit aroused in them to say: "I shall try to do the very contrary to that you command me to do." If men are appealed to their better judgment, their better feeling, to a righteous course of conduct, they are more ready to yield and to do the best that they can.

MR. THOMPSON: Mr. Gompers, it is true that, under the law of the land, no man, a member of no organization, has a right to force another to take certain action. Isn't that true? I say, that no trade union has a legal right to force a member to go on a strike, for instance?

MR. GOMPERS: It has not.

MR. THOMPSON: The sole force, then, that any organization in this country has, yours as well as others, is the moral force to induce its members to take concerted action, isn't that true?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir, it is.

MR. THOMPSON: And that that rule applies in every

phase of labor organization, and particularly in your organization?

MR. GOMPERS: Particularly in the Federation.

MR. THOMPSON: You have spoken, Mr. Gompers, of the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. You have told of its membership. Where are its powers?

MR. GOMPERS: They are an executive committee, an administrative committee, if you please, for the purpose of carrying into effect the conclusions reached at the conventions, and to take such initiative in regard to any matter, particularly legislation upon which the convention not had an opportunity to express itself; to be helpful in any and in every way to any sphere of human activity, contributing to the protection, the benefit, the welfare of the people, and particularly of wage earners.

MR. THOMPSON: Are the powers of this council set forth?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir. In the constitution, a copy of which I handed you, sir.

MR. THOMPSON: Now, Mr. Gompers, in a general way, if you know, what is the total membership of the unions affiliated or federated with the American Federation of Labor?

MR. GOMPERS: In the report which the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor submitted to the Seattle convention last November, was incorporated the report of the Secretary of the Federation, Mr. Frank Morrison, and his report is based upon the reports made to his office by the affiliated organizations, and upon which these organizations pay the per capita tax for their respective memberships.

The average membership for the year 1913 that Mr. Morrison reported and upon whom the per capita tax was paid, was 1,996,004. I ought to explain that. Because we aimed to avoid any padding of membership by any organization in the last month just preceding



the conventions, and thereby increasing the voting power of the delegates of any organization, in 1895 the convention made the change that the representation and voting power in the convention should not be based, as theretofore, upon the last month's payment, but upon the average payment of the organization during the year.

MR. THOMPSON: Have you made any comparison, Mr. Gompers, between the growth of the membership of the Federation of Labor and the growth of the population of the United States?

MR. GOMPERS: I have made no accurate comparison. The answer to the question needs elucidation. The membership of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are composed of adults, and they are principally men, but there are some women. Therefore, a comparison as to the membership in the American Federation of Labor and the population of the United States is hardly a fair comparison. If you figure five to a family, it is only fair to assume that in the American Federation we have about eleven million.

MR. THOMPSON: My question was not directed to that which you state, but directed to the proportion of the increase—whether the percentage of increase had gone on with the increase in population. Now, if you don't know, that is all right. We can figure that out.

MR. GOMPERS: I think the percentage of increase of the American Federation of Labor has been greater than that of the population of the United States.

MR. THOMPSON: Mr. Gompers, now, will you please tell us in your own language the object and purposes of the American Federation of Labor?

MR. GOMPERS: Recognizing the fact that associated effort is of greater influence and power to secure any given object over that of individual effort, the first purpose to which the American Federation of Labor directs its efforts, is the encouragement or formation

of trade and labor unions, and the closer federation of such unions—that, in local, state, national and international unions, industrial departments, central bodies, etc., to encourage these organizations to aid and assist each other to the fullest extent in any of the struggles in which they may be engaged; to protect the rights and the interests of the membership and the working people; to promote and advance their interests and rights economically and politically, legislatively and socially; to make life the better for living in our day, so that the workers may be in a better position to meet any problem with which the future generations may be confronted. In a word, to let no effort go by untried by which the working people may find betterment upon every field of human activity. There is no limit to any course which may be pursued by our American Federation of Labor that is calculated to be of advantage to the people of our country and primarily to the working people. Of course I could enter into detail; but the omission of any one factor might lead to the inference that the Federation's activity was in so far limited. It takes in the sum total of human activity upon whatever field that may be, which may aid, promote, advance and protect the rights and the interests of the working people and may tend to establish better conditions and to make for the greatest sum total of human happiness. At no part of their scheme or in the process of evolution, is there a limit placed upon the work and the activities of the American Federation of Labor.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Now, Mr. Hillquit, you may cross-examine Mr. Gompers.

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Gompers, you have stated that the general objects of the Federation are to better the conditions of the workers in all fields of human activity. By that you mean, I presume, economic betterment in all directions first, don't you?

MR. GOMPERS: First. Yes, and in every other.

MR. HILLQUIT: Including political and social?

MR. GOMPERS: In every particular.

MR. HILLQUIT: That would include, would it not, Mr. Gompers, improvement in political rights and in social standing, as well as in economic conditions?

MR. GOMPERS: Beyond question.

MR. HILLQUIT: Does your Federation formulate definite programs of such improvements from time to time?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, the American Federation of Labor has concerned itself with first questions first.

MR. HILLQUIT: And it has passed various resolutions recommending concrete ameliorative measures, has it not?

MR. GOMPERS: It has.

MR. HILLQUIT: Has the American Federation of Labor expressed itself in favor of the shortening of the work day in keeping with the increased productivity of machinery?

MR. GOMPERS: It has, and I should say that the movement for a shorter workday has been going on for nearly 50 years—twenty years prior to the organization of the American Federation of Labor. It received more concrete form and expression since the American Federation of Labor was formed. For instance, in 1884, the American Federation of Labor declared that a concrete effort should be made by the working people of the United States to secure the eight-hour working day on May 1st, 1886. And the Federation offered its services to the organizations in the establishment of the eight-hour workday by conferences between workmen and employers, by correspondence, by publications, by agitation and education and, if it is responsive to the question, I may be permitted to say right here that upon the recommendation of the American Federation of Labor, two trades, piece-work trades, enforced the eight-hour workday on May 1st, 1886, and they have maintained the

eight-hour workday in the industry from that day until this; and that, as a result of the declaration of the American Federation of Labor, the movement took impetus so as to reduce the hours of labor in many trades and callings from the 18-hour day, the 16-hour day, not to the 8-hour day, but to the 10- and to the 9-hour day. Now, I suppose, at some other stage of the proceedings I may refer to the hours of labor now generally prevailing in the industries.

MR. HILLQUIT: You may. At any rate, Mr. Gompers, the American Federation of Labor is unequivocally in favor of a shorter workday, and a progressive decrease of working hours in keeping with the development of machinery and other productive forces, is it not?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, and in addition, the need, the recognized need of our day is for greater rest opportunities and time for rest and leisure and cultivation.

MR. HILLQUIT: Quite so. Then, the American Federation of Labor is also in favor of a rest of not less than a day and a half in each week?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes. I would say that we insist upon the one rest day, an entire day in each week. I may say that it was my great pleasure to have been the President of the New York State Federation of Labor when the Legislature of the State of New York, the first one in America, made Saturday afternoon a legal holiday.

MR. HILLQUIT: You are, then, Mr. Gompers, in favor of the rest period of a day and a half, at least, in each week?

MR. GOMPERS: I am, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: And are you also in favor of securing a more effective inspection of workshops, factories, and mines?

MR. GOMPERS: Mr. Hillquit, if I may, I should prefer that you would address me, not as to my personal wishes and preferences. I am here as President

of the American Federation of Labor, and I should, if you can, like to have you address your questions as to what the attitude of the American Federation of Labor is, rather than my own.

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Gompers, it will be understood that whenever I refer to you, I refer to you as the head and representative of the American Federation of Labor, and addressing you in such capacity I now repeat that question: Are you or is the American Federation of Labor in favor of more efficient inspection of workshops, factories and mines?

MR. GOMPERS: It is, it has always been, and has worked to the accomplishment of the purposes which you have just now read as being declared.

MR. HILLQUIT: And does the Federation also favor forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age?

MR. GOMPERS: It does, and it has worked toward the accomplishment of that purpose.

MR. HILLQUIT: Does the Federation favor forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of convict labor, and the product of all uninspected factories and mines?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir; that is merely an instrumentality. One of the instrumentalities for the accomplishment of the results mentioned in the question you asked me just now. It is not in itself the thing; it is only an instrumentality to accomplish the thing.

MR. HILLQUIT: But as such instrumentality, the Federation favors the measure, does it not?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: And do you also favor direct employment of workers by the United States Government, State Governments, and Municipal Governments, without the intervention of contractors?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir; and to a large degree have accomplished that.

MR. HILLQUIT: Very well, sir. And does the Federation also favor a minimum wage scale?

MR. GOMPERS: That question is general, and does not admit of an intelligent answer.

MR. HILLQUIT: Well, does the Federation favor the fixing by legal enactment of certain minimum wages below which the employer should not be permitted to pay?

MR. GOMPERS: The American Federation of Labor is not in favor of such a proposition, but, on the contrary, is very much opposed to it, and it is necessary to say——

MR. HILLQUIT (Interrupting): Can you state your reasons why, Mr. Gompers?

MR. GOMPERS: The attempts of Government to establish wages at which workmen may work is in the experience of history the beginning of an era, and a long era, of industrial slavery. There was a time in history where Governments and courts, at quarter sessions, established wages. During periods where there was a dearth of workmen, and when employers offered higher wages, the workmen and employers were brought into court and both punished, punished by imprisonment and physical mutilation, because the one asked, received or demanded and the other was willing to offer, or did pay higher wages.

MR. HILLQUIT: May I interrupt you, Mr. Gompers, because I think you misunderstood me?

MR. GOMPERS: I think I will anticipate what you want, with the next five or six words. The proposition upon which I am questioned is as to minimum wages.

MR. HILLQUIT: Correct.

MR. GOMPERS: I thought I anticipated you. I think I know the operations of men's minds a bit, particularly in the differences which you and I have both the honor to represent.

This is a proposition, presumably, to determine a

minimum wage. It is a maxim in law, although I am not a lawyer, that once a court has jurisdiction over an individual, it has the power to exercise full authority in the field of that jurisdiction. I fear the Greeks even when they bear gifts. Any attempt to entrap the American workmen into a species of slavery under the guise of an offer of this character is resented by the men and women of labor in the American Federation of Labor.

MR. HILLQUIT: In other words, Mr. Gompers, if a law were proposed in the State of New York to the effect that no women be employed in factory industries at a wage less than, say, nine or ten dollars a week, you would object to such a measure on the ground that it might tend to enslave the women workers of the State of New York. Is that your proposition?

MR. GOMPERS: Let me say this, that cannot be answered in a categorical answer Yes or No.

MR. HILLQUIT: Answer it in your own way.

MR. GOMPERS: When that question was up for investigation and discussion before the Executive Council, and subsequently before the American Federation of Labor, there was quite a diversion of views. I am betraying no confidence when I say that. The convention decided that the subject was worthy of further study and consideration, and that is the official action of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

If you desire to have my personal views upon that, I shall be perfectly willing to express them.

MR. HILLQUIT: You may voice your own views or the views of the Federation, as you please. All I want is a clear answer. My last question was: Assuming that a law was proposed in this State, fixing a minimum wage rate for women employed in factories at, say, nine dollars or ten dollars a week, would you in-

dividually or as the representative of the American Federation of Labor, oppose such a law?

MR. GOMPERS: I would not be authorized nor warranted in opposing it since the American Federation of Labor has characterized the question of a minimum wage as a subject worthy of further study and investigation. Personally, of course, I would prefer in general, not to do that, but in this I shall be very glad to volunteer my opinion.

MR. HILLQUIT: Go ahead, Mr. Gompers.

MR. GOMPERS: I say that in my judgment the proposal, though well-meaning, is a curb upon the natural rights and the opportunity for development of the women of our country and of the industry.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then your idea is, Mr. Gompers, if the Legislature once fixed a minimum wage, the machinery of the State would be set in motion to enforce work at that rate, whether the worker desired to render the service or not?

MR. GOMPERS: I am very suspicious of the activities of governmental agencies.

MR. HILLQUIT: And your apprehensions are, then, in that direction, that once the State is allowed to fix a minimum rate, the State would also take the right to compel women or men to work at that rate, is that it?

MR. GOMPERS: That is my apprehension.

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Gompers, you are in favor of a maximum workday established by law, are you not?

MR. GOMPERS: I am.

MR. HILLQUIT: Wouldn't you, by analogy, say that there is an equally justifiable apprehension that if the Legislature once is allowed to establish a maximum workday it might, by putting its machinery in motion, compel workmen to work up to the maximum allowed?

MR. GOMPERS: I think that my answer has not been sufficiently intelligent or comprehensive when I



answer by the two monosyllables, "I am." I ought to say I am in favor of legal enactments for the maximum hours of labor for all workmen in direct Government employment, and for those who do work that the Government has substituted for Governmental authority. I am in favor—and the Federation is in favor of a maximum number of hours for children, for minors, and for women.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then do I understand you to say, Mr. Gompers, that the Federation does not favor a legal limitation of the workday for adult men workers?

MR. GOMPERS: Not by law of the State. As a matter of fact, the unions have established very largely the shorter workday by their own initiative, power and influence; they have done it for themselves.

MR. HILLQUIT: I know that, Mr. Gompers, but is the Federation opposed to similar legal enactments?

MR. GOMPERS: For adult workmen?

MR. HILLQUIT: Exactly, limiting their hours of work?

MR. GOMPERS: By legal statutory authority?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes.

MR. GOMPERS: It is.

MR. HILLQUIT: It is opposed?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: Has it, in any of its conventions, or otherwise officially, declared itself as opposed to such legal enactment?

MR. GOMPERS: Such propositions have been up at several times and they have been negatived.

MR. HILLQUIT: From all of that, you infer that the Federation is opposed to such legal enactments?

MR. GOMPERS: I do not think it is a question of inference. It is a question of fact. When a proposition is made and it is defeated, that shows that the body is opposed to it. It may be that the question was set aside because the Federation did not desire

to commit itself, but the grounds upon which such rejection has occurred were as I have stated.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then, Mr. Gompers, will you tell me what line you draw between child labor, woman labor, and adult male labor in hazardous industries?

MR. GOMPERS: For instance, I favor of the methods by which the United Mine Workers of America have established the eight-hour day in the bituminous coal field by their own action rather than I would be for the enactment of a law.

MR. HILLQUIT: One does not exclude the other, does it, Mr. Gompers?

MR. GOMPERS: Except as I have stated, that the American Federation of Labor has some apprehensions as to the placing of additional powers in the hands of the Government which may work to the detriment of working people, and particularly when the things can be done by the workmen themselves.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then, Mr. Gompers, as I understand you, the American Federation of Labor is in favor of a uniform shorter workday and would enforce it by means, say, of collective bargaining, or other methods employed by labor unions?

MR. GOMPERS: I may say, Mr. Hillquit, that you have evidently a misapprehension of the functions of the American Federation of Labor. As a matter of fact, the unions themselves undertake the work of accomplishing the shorter workday. For instance, the International Typographical Union undertook a movement giving employers more than a year's notice in advance that from a certain day on they would work no more than eight hours in each day. Almost immediately a large number of employers acceded. Others refused. The men struck. Covering a period of more than a year, a number of organized employers and individual firms came to an agreement acceding to the 8-hour day, and enforcing it, and finally the eight-hour day has been established, not only for the

printers, the International Typographical Union, but the 8-hour day prevails now generally in the printing trades; and that is true in many other trades. It did not require any law for the printers; it did not require any law for the granite cutters; it did not require any law for the Cigar Makers' International Union, of which I have the honor to be a member. There was not any requirement in the law in the building trades, and many others, to introduce the eight-hour workday.

MR. HILLQUIT: I fully understand that, but you have stated before that the American Federation of Labor, as such, at its annual conventions, adopted a resolution as early as 1884, approving the movement for an eight-hour day, and that it has since co-operated with the various affiliated organizations for the attainment of the eight-hour day.

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, but it was necessary for the organizations themselves to take the initiative.

MR. HILLQUIT: Granted.

MR. GOMPERS: For instance, I think it was in 1890, or in 1889, when the American Federation of Labor again took up the movement to encourage the inauguration of a shorter workday—the eight-hour workday; and the Executive Council was given authority by the convention to extend all the help it could to any organization making application to be selected to make the movement. The carpenters were among the organizations then making application, and they were selected by the Executive Council to make the fight.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, Mr. Gompers, to save further misunderstanding and explanation, I will say to you that whenever I mention the American Federation of Labor, I mean not only the Executive Council, but mean also the unions affiliated with and constituting that body. Now, Mr. Gompers—

MR. GOMPERS (Interrupting): Mr. Hillquit, pardon

me again. In any question and answer appearing without that distinction being made, the student of history now and hereafter is not likely to go back to your qualification and find the interpretation of the question upon that basis; and for that reason I must insist that each time you refer to the specific thing, rather than to the general.

MR. HILLQUIT: Very well, Mr. Gompers. As you know, Mr. Gompers, the United Mine Workers, and the Western Federation of Miners, both affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have been very active in establishing in the several states of their operations, a minimum workday of eight-hours. Is not that a fact?

MR. GOMPERS: In the Western states, for workmen who are employed beneath the surface of the earth.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, is the Federation, as a whole, in favor of such legislation as the Western Miners have obtained, say, in Colorado?

MR. GOMPERS: The organized labor movement of Colorado and of Utah have accomplished that, sir. But the American Federation of Labor, as such, has not taken any action upon that subject.

MR. HILLQUIT: From your knowledge of the sentiment and position of the American Federation of Labor as such, would you say that the Federation approves or disapproves of the efforts of its affiliated unions to obtain a legally established maximum work-day?

MR. GOMPERS: I think that the Federation, if called upon to approve the course, would say that the organization acted within its rights, and if it deemed it for the best. We would not oppose it, but rather approve it.

MR. HILLQUIT: Notwithstanding the apprehensions you express?

MR. GOMPERS: The fact of the matter is that some

men unconsciously and with the best of intentions get to rivet chains on their wrists.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, Mr. Gompers, the Federation would encourage the practice of its various affiliated organizations in endeavoring to secure a shorter workday by means of a collective agreement with certain groups of employers in a certain industry, would it not?

MR. GOMPERS: It would.

MR. HILLQUIT: And the ideal state would be to have each of your affiliated organizations secure such shorter workday by such means, would it not?

MR. GOMPERS: No, sir. I have a very different conception from what you have, as is quite evident, as to ideals. It is desirable, but it is not ideal.

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes; but it would be desirable.

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, if the same proposition should come by means of a law forcing an 8-hour workday upon all employers in a given state, or, for that matter, throughout the Union, then the Federation, as I understand, would not approve it.

MR. GOMPERS: It would oppose it.

MR. HILLQUIT: It would oppose it?

MR. GOMPERS: If I understand and correctly interpret the views of the American Federation of Labor, it would oppose it.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, let's understand that well, Mr. Gompers, for the record. Your opinion is that if there were a movement and a possibility of establishing a shorter workday, say an eight-hour workday—by legal enactment throughout the land, and a minimum wage in the same way, the Federation would be opposed to such measures?

MR. GOMPERS: It would, because it has in a large measure accomplished it and will accomplish it by the initiative of the organization and the grit, the courage,

the manhood and womanhood of the men and women in the American Federation of Labor.

MR. HILLQUIT: And if that grit and courage should express itself by forcing the legislatures of the various states to enact such a law, and if the execution of the law were backed by a strong labor organization in each state, with the same grit and courage, you would still object to it?

MR. GOMPERS: Well, your hypothesis is entirely groundless.

MR. HILLQUIT: Why, Mr. Gompers?

MR. GOMPERS: When the organizations of labor, as I have already said, have accomplished that to a large extent, and propose to accomplish it further on their own initiative and by their own voluntary association, it precludes the question of having a legal enactment for that purpose.

MR. HILLQUIT: I just wanted to know why it precludes it. You say that many of the unions affiliated with you propose to secure a shorter workday; that means they have not done so yet.

MR. GOMPERS: Unfortunately that is so.

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, unfortunately that is so. Now, Mr. Gompers, my question is this: Assume that the workers had a chance to accomplish this end by methods of legal enactment brought about through their influence and surrounded by precautions satisfactory to the labor organizations, then I want you to say whether or not the American Federation of Labor would be opposed to such measure.

MR. GOMPERS: It would, for the reasons I have already stated, and for the additional reason that the giving of the jurisdiction to government and to governmental agencies, is always dangerous to the working people.

MR. HILLQUIT: I understand you rightly. Now, Mr. Gompers, does the American Federation of Labor

favor a system of non-contributing old-age pensions for workers?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: And that, of course, by legal enactment and governmental machinery?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes.

MR. HILLQUIT: And does the Federation likewise favor a general system of state insurance against unemployment, sickness, disability, and industrial accident?

MR. GOMPERS: There is some doubt as to some of the propositions.

MR. HILLQUIT: Which ones?

MR. GOMPERS: Particularly state insurance against unemployment.

MR. HILLQUIT: Is there any doubt about state insurance against sickness or accidents?

MR. GOMPERS: I think not.

MR. HILLQUIT: There is not?

MR. GOMPERS: I am sure not.

MR. HILLQUIT: In other words, the Federation supports such measures?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: As measures of legal enactment?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: What does the Federation propose to do with the problem of unemployment?

MR. GOMPERS: To shorten the workday of the employed; to share with the unemployed workmen the work that is to be performed; to constantly work towards the elimination of unemployment and through the refusal of the American workman to regard unemployment as a permanent status in the industrial and economic forces of our country.

MR. HILLQUIT: Just what do you mean, Mr. Gompers, by refusal of the workman to regard it as an institution in our industrial system?

MR. GOMPERS: To constantly make for a reduc-

tion in the hours of labor—to share the work with those who are unemployed, and thereby find work—help to find work for the unemployed, and to encourage and stimulate the workmen in their effort for a constantly increasing share in the production of wealth—the consumption and use of things produced—and thereby giving employment to unemployed.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then, Mr. Gompers, your only remedy is practically the shortening of the workday and the increased power of consumption on the part of the workers that would follow as a consequence, is it not?

MR. GOMPERS: You are employing the word “only,” which is scarcely a proper characterization of my answer.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then what else?

MR. GOMPERS: I have already enumerated.

MR. HILLQUIT: Well, then whatever you have enumerated constitutes the entire program of the American Federation of Labor with reference to the unemployed?

MR. GOMPERS: No.

MR. HILLQUIT: What else did you wish to add?

MR. GOMPERS: Just as I mentioned a short while ago, when one begins to particularize, anything unmentioned may seem a limitation. But the sum total of the activities of the organized workers to meet the problem of unemployment is not encompassed in what I have already said. We favor the undertaking of great public works. Again, I am particularizing, without wishing to limit. If you should ask me whether I favor this or the other proposition to meet and solve the problem of the unemployed, it would enable you to question me on my answer, limiting or extending, just as the case may be. But I don't believe that I should be placed in the position of having my entire curriculum on the subject limited and shortened by a statement made on the spur of the moment.



MR. HILLQUIT: Now, Mr. Gompers, the methods you mentioned would naturally involve a rather slow process, wouldn't they, a question of several years, anyhow?

MR. GOMPERS: As a matter of fact, the existence of the organized labor movement in 1907, as well as the existence of the organized labor movement to-day, has been and is the most potent force in our country to prevent conditions that would act to the great detriment of the working people of our country. In 1907, when the financial panic came upon the working people, the expressed determination of the American labor movement to prevent, to resist at all hazards any attempt to reduce wages was a clarion call to the workers, and a warning to the employers that they must not apply in our time the old method of visiting on the workers the defects or the faults of their own planning or misplanning.

MR. HILLQUIT: I fully appreciate it, Mr. Gompers, and fully accept it. But, does your Federation have any program in the face of the present momentary condition of unemployment—any program of immediate, even though partial, alleviation of that condition?

MR. GOMPERS: The American Federation of Labor and the bona fide organized labor movement, have less to do with setting forth programs than with actual work. It is the easiest thing in the world for people to promulgate programs which mean simple, idle, elusive words, and nothing substantial to the working people.

MR. HILLQUIT: Does not any plan of action, Mr. Gompers, a plan of systematic, thought-out action, constitute a program?

MR. GOMPERS: If, Mr. Hillquit, you want me to say that the American Federation of Labor is not a perfect Federation, or that our organizations are not perfect—if you want me to say that these organiza-

tions and our Federation has not promulgated a theory or a program for the elimination of every human ill, I will admit it.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, Mr. Gompers, that was very far from my thoughts. I wanted to get at facts. I wanted to know how the Federation stands in the face of this acute problem in the labor conditions. Does the Federation favor Government relief of unemployed by extension of useful public works?

MR. GOMPER: Yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: And does it also favor a provision to the effect that all persons employed on such work shall be engaged directly by the Government and work not more than eight hours, and at not less than the prevailing union wages?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes.

MR. HILLQUIT: Does the Federation favor a plan by which the Government should establish employment bureaus and loan money to States and municipalities without interest for the purposes of carrying on useful public works?

MR. GOMPERS: It has not declared itself upon that subject, except as I have already stated in the blanket answer; that is, it favors any tangible, rational proposition that would help to meet and solve the question of unemployment.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then you, individually, Mr. Gompers, would not object to such a plan?

MR. GOMPERS: Oh, no, I think not.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, Mr. Gompers, you also mentioned that the American Federation of Labor tried to improve the political status of the workers; that is correct, is it not?

MR. GOMPERS: I should like to be quoted accurately: To improve the condition of the working people in every human field of activity; to protect, promote and advance their rights and interests.

MR. HILLQUIT: Exactly. Now, "every field of human activity" includes the political field?

MR. GOMPERS: It does.

MR. HILLQUIT: And every right of the worker includes his political rights?

MR. GOMPERS: It does.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, then, Mr. Gompers, is your Federation in favor of the absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage?

MR. GOMPERS: It is. May I amplify that answer?

MR. HILLQUIT: You may.

MR. GOMPERS: I wish to say that the American Federation of Labor has, in the effort to stand for the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assemblage, undertaken great risks, and has asserted it and maintained it. In addition to this, the American Federation of Labor looks askance upon any effort to curb the inherent, as well as the constitutional rights of free press and free speech and free assemblage, and holds that, though these rights may be perverted, may be improperly exercised, exercised for an unlawful purpose, yet these rights must not, in advance, be interfered with. The right of assemblage, the right of expression through speech or press, must be untrammelled if we are going to have a Republican form of government. If anybody utters that which is libellous or seditious or treasonable, they must be made and may be made to answer for those transgressions, but the right of expression must be unimpaired, and the American Federation of Labor has stood and will stand unalterably and unequivocally in favor of free assemblage, free speech and free press.

MR. HILLQUIT: So will the Socialist Party. We are one there.

MR. GOMPERS: I did not know that the Socialist Party was to be injected into this.

MR. HILLQUIT: Why, we have had the two interjected all along.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: If you will leave out the comment or the assertion——

MR. HILLQUIT: Very well. Mr. Gompers, is your Federation in favor of unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women?

MR. GOMPERS: It is, it has been, and has done much to advance that cause.

MR. HILLQUIT: Does your Federation favor the initiation, referendum and recall?

MR. GOMPERS: It not only advocates it and has advocated it, but one of the members of an affiliated organization was the author of the first book upon direct legislature, initiative and referendum in the United States—Mr. James W. Sullivan.

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Gompers, does your Federation also favor the system of proportional representation?

MR. GOMPERS: It has not, as an organization, taken affirmative action on that subject.

MR. HILLQUIT: But it practices it in its own conventions? Your vote is based on membership?

MR. GOMPERS: Proportional representation, as that term is usually applied, is not the proportional representation to which you refer in the voting in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. The proportional representation—that is, I want to know whether I am right?

MR. HILLQUIT: I will define it, Mr. Gompers.

MR. GOMPERS: Yes.

MR. HILLQUIT: I use the term “proportional representation” as denoting a system by which votes are cast and rights are exercised by representatives in proportion to the numerical strength of the constituents?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, I favor that.

MR. HILLQUIT: You do?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir. The American Federation of Labor does.

MR. HILLQUIT: Does the Federation favor the election of the president and vice-president of the United States by direct vote of the people without intervention of the electoral college?

MR. GOMPERS: It does, and has so declared.

MR. HILLQUIT: Does your Federation favor a restriction upon the powers of judges to nullify laws or to set them aside as unconstitutional?

MR. GOMPERS: It does.

MR. HILLQUIT: Does your Federation favor a measure to make the constitution of the United States amendable by a majority vote of the people?

MR. GOMPERS: Amendable by an easier method than at present prevails. As to the specific proposition that you have just asked, I am not so sure. I don't know. No expression has been made on the subject.

MR. HILLQUIT: Personally, Mr. Gompers, you would think a simpler method of amending the constitution would be a step in advance?

MR. GOMPERS: The present method is very cumbersome and slow, and, being a written constitution, while it ought not to be subject to changes at every ebb and flow of the tide, changes ought to be much easier than now.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, Mr. Gompers, are you in favor of curbing the powers of the court to punish for contempt in labor disputes, or to regulate that power?

MR. GOMPERS: If I may adopt the tactics of the Yankee, I might say, "Do you doubt it?"—Yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: Are you in favor of the enactment of further measures for general education, and particularly for vocational education in useful pursuits?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes. Here is a fact not generally known: That to the organized labor movement of

Massachusetts belongs the credit of having established the public schools of Massachusetts. Prior to that time there were schools which the children of indigent parents could attend, but the child that did attend carried with it the stigma of the poverty of its parents, and it was a stigma then. The labor movement of Massachusetts secured the enactment of a law removing the requirement by which the parents had to declare that they were indigent and could not afford to pay for the tuition of their children. Thus came into vogue the first public school system in the world.

MR. HILLQUIT: So that the Federation is committed to and favors an extension of the educational system, and the vocational training?

MR. GOMPERS: In all of its highest and best phases. And say that the American Federation of Labor has had a Committee for the past ten years, a Committee composed of many of its own representative men and women and a number of public educators acting for the American Federation of Labor, yet independent of it, that has worked out a system of vocational training in industrial and agricultural vocational training, household economy and civic duty, so much so that the report of that committee was made a public document by the Senate of the United States.

MR. HILLQUIT: Is your Federation in favor of the free administration of justice?

MR. GOMPERS: It is.

MR. HILLQUIT: I have enumerated to you all political and industrial demands in the platform of the Socialist Party, and find that your Federation adopts them with the exception of two points of difference on the question of a maximum workday and the minimum wage. You would accomplish that by pure economic action; the Socialist Party advocates it through legal enactment, is that correct?

MR. GOMPERS: It is not correct.

MR. HILLQUIT: Why?

MR. GOMPERS: As a matter of fact, the Socialist Party has purloined the demands and the vocabulary of the American Labor movement, and has adopted them as its own, and now you ask the American Federation of Labor whether it favors them.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then, Mr. Gompers, whether we have purloined our program or not, the American Federation of Labor, as the original inventor or otherwise, fully approves of it with the exception of the small differences I mentioned, is that correct?

MR. GOMPERS: I would like to hear the question. (The question was read by the stenographer.)

MR. HILLQUIT: Suppose we waive that answer?

MR. GOMPERS: No, don't waive the answer. Just amend your question so that it is comprehensible.

MR. HILLQUIT: It is merely in the nature of a summary, Mr. Gompers. I have read to you point by point the working program of the Socialist Party with reference to economic and political measures, and I have asked you in each instance whether your Federation approves of such measures. Your answer has been in the affirmative, uniformly, except on the questions of the minimum wage and the maximum workday. As to those questions we agreed on the principle, but you would secure it by purely economic action and the Socialist Party by legal enactment. It is in the nature of a summary. I want it on the record. You may answer or not, as you please.

MR. GOMPERS: What did you want me to answer?

MR. HILLQUIT: Is it so or is it not so?

MR. GOMPERS: I say that these demands which you have enumerated have been promulgated, declared and fought for, and in many instances accomplished, by the American Federation of Labor and the organized labor movement of the country. Your question would indicate that you claim the adhesion of the American labor movement to original propositions when, as a

matter of fact, they have been put into your platform simply as vote-catchers.\*

MR. HILLQUIT: Then you admit the identity of the program but you deny priority on our part?

MR. GOMPERS: And I question the purpose.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, Mr. Gompers, let me ask you, has the Republican Party or the Democratic Party purloined from you the same demands?

MR. GOMPERS: Not all of them, but many of them.

MR. HILLQUIT: Any of them?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: How many. And which?

MR. GOMPERS: Will you give me a few minutes' time, Mr. Chairman?

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Do you wish to be excused?

MR. GOMPERS: No, sir; only a few minutes' time, that I may answer.

MR. HILLQUIT: Do you want to consult with me?

MR. GOMPERS: No, I don't need advice from you, Brother Hillquit.

I may say, Mr. Chairman, that because my friend, Mr. Gordon, did me the kindness of looking up and handing to me a copy of the American Federationist,

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\* Historically this assertion is entirely wrong. Some of the most important measures discussed in the preceding pages, such as the reduction of workhours, the fixing of a minimum wage, the abolition of child labor and the freedom of the press, were first formulated by the International Workmen's Association under the leadership of Karl Marx, in the sixties of the last century, and the Socialist Labor Party of this country had a full program of industrial and political reform five years before the American Federation of Labor was organized. It is true, however, that the Socialist Party makes it a rule to incorporate in its platform all new progressive demands of organized labor as soon as they are formulated. That is its mission in politics as a working class party. To speak of "purloining" such demands for the purpose of "catching" the votes of the workers for the cause of the workers, shows a singular misconception of the object and methods of the labor movement.



it would be erroneous to place the construction upon that that he has prepared my questions or my answers, or that he has helped me in any other way than I have stated. The significance of this remark may be outside of the record rather than in.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: It is really lost upon me.

MR. GOMPERS: I am sure it is not lost upon my cross-examiner. Is it?

MR. HILLQUIT: Nothing is lost on me, Mr. Gompers, that comes from you.

MR. GOMPERS: In answer to the question propounded by Mr. Hillquit, I think I ought to say that among the demands which the labor movement of America makes is the limitation of the powers of the President of the United States in the exercise of his veto upon the legislation of the representatives of the people.

MR. HILLQUIT: That is contained in our platform likewise, Mr. Gompers.

MR. GOMPERS: The only member of Congress the Socialist Party has ever had sustained two vetoes of the President of the United States.

We also have secured the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people.

I have here, Mr. Chairman, the report which I made to the International Secretariat, *i.e.*, the organized expression of the labor movement or the civilized world. It bears the general caption: "President Gompers' Report to the International Secretariat," and the sub-captions:

- "1. National Legislative Gains for 1912.
2. State Legislative Gains for 1912.
3. National Economic Gains for 1912."

It would take me about half an hour to read the report but I submit that I have no desire to bore the Commission or to take up unnecessary time of the Commission and counsel. If it can be incorporated

here as my answer to the question of the gentleman, you will find it comprehensive.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: As I understand Mr. Hillquit's question, he has asked you to call attention to the places in the platforms of the Democratic or Republican Parties where demands are made for the same social measures as he read to you this morning, is that correct?

MR. HILLQUIT: That is correct.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Can you do that by referring to your notes, just read into the record when and where the demand was made by either one of the parties?

MR. GOMPERS: I cannot do that just now from memory. I have not the platform declarations of the State Committees.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Then it is impossible to do it on account of the comprehensive nature of the question at this time?

MR. GOMPERS: I supplement this answer by saying that I here submit to the Commission a report of the legislative gains secured at the hands of Congress and the several legislatures composed of Republicans and Democrats and Prohibitionists and Progressives.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Very well. That may be made a part of the record then, and not read in extenso.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, Mr. Gompers, to take up another subject, is it your conception or that of the Federation, that workers in the United States to-day receive the full product of their labor?

MR. GOMPERS: I think, but I am not quite so sure, that I know what you have in mind.

MR. HILLQUIT: Do you understand my question?

MR. GOMPERS: I think I do. In the generally accepted sense of that term, they do not.

MR. HILLQUIT: In any particular sense, yes?

MR. GOMPERS: No.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then the workers of this country do not receive the whole product of their labor? Can you hazard a guess as to what proportion of the product they do receive in the shape of wages?

MR. GOMPERS: I am not a good guesser, and I doubt that there is any value in a guess.

MR. HILLQUIT: You have no general idea, have you, on the subject?

MR. GOMPERS: I have a most general idea, but I am not called upon to guess.

MR. HILLQUIT: No. Will you please give us your most general idea?

MR. GOMPERS: As to what proportion?

MR. HILLQUIT: As to the approximate proportion of their product which the workers, as a whole, get.

MR. GOMPERS: I will say that it is impossible for any one to definitely say what proportion the workers receive as a reward for their labor; but it is a fact that, due to the organized labor movement they have received, and are receiving, a larger share of the product of their labor than they ever did in the history of modern society.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then one of the functions of organized labor is to increase the share of the workers in the product of their labor, is that correct?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir. Organized labor makes constantly increasing demand upon society for reward for the services which the workers render to society, and without which civilized life would be impossible.

MR. HILLQUIT: And these demands for an increasing share of the product of labor continue as a gradual process all the time?

MR. GOMPERS: I am not so sure as to gradual process. Sometimes it is not a gradual process, but it is all the time.

MR. HILLQUIT: All the time?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then, Mr. Gompers, you assume

that the organized labor movement has generally succeeded in forcing a certain increase of the portion of the workers' share in the general product, do you?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: And it demands more now?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir..

MR. HILLQUIT: And if it should get, say, 5 per cent. more within the next year, will the organized labor movement rest contented with that, and stop?

MR. GOMPERS: Not if I know anything about human nature.

MR. HILLQUIT: Will the organized movement stop in its demands for an ever greater share in the product at any time before it receives the full product, and before complete social justice, as it sees it, is done?

MR. GOMPERS: The working people are human beings—as all other people. They are prompted by the same desires and hopes of a better life, and they are not willing to wait until after they have shuffled off this mortal coil for the better life. They want it here and now. They want to make conditions better for their children so that they may meet the newer problems in their time. The working people are pressing forward, making their claims and presenting those claims with whatever power they have. Pressing forward to secure a larger, and constantly larger share of the products. They are working towards the highest and best ideals of social justice.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, "the highest and best ideals of social justice," as applied to distribution of wealth, wouldn't that be a system under which all the workers, manual, mental, directive and executive would together get the sum total of all the products of their toil?

MR. GOMPERS: Really, a fish is caught by a tempting bait; a mouse or a rat is caught in a trap by a tempting bait. The intelligent, common-sense workmen prefer to deal with the problems of to-day, the

problems with which they are bound to contend if they want to advance, rather than to deal with a picture and a dream which has never had, and I am sure never will have, any reality in the actual affairs of humanity, and which threaten, if they could be introduced, the worst system of circumscriptional effort and activity that has ever been invented by the human mind.

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Gompers, I would like to get an answer. In your experience with the labor movement and its forward march towards ever greater improvement, and greater measure of social justice, can you locate a point at which the labor movement will stop and rest contented so long as the workers will receive less than the full product of their work?

MR. GOMPERS: I say that the workers, as human beings, will never stop at any point in the effort to secure greater improvements in their conditions and a better life in all its phases. And wherever that may lead and whatever that may be in my time and at my age, I decline to permit my mind or my activities to be labeled by any particular ism.

MR. HILLQUIT: I do not try to attach any ism to you, but the question I ask is whether the American Federation of Labor and its authorized spokesman have a general social philosophy, or work blindly from day to day.

MR. GOMPERS: I think your question is——

MR. HILLQUIT (Interrupting): Inconvenient?

MR. GOMPERS: No. I will tell you what it is—it is a question prompted to you, and is an insult.

MR. HILLQUIT: It is not a question prompted to me.

MR. GOMPERS: It is an insult.

MR. HILLQUIT: Why, Mr. Gompers?

MR. GOMPERS: It insinuates that the men and the women in the American Federation of Labor movement are acting blindly from day to day.

MR. HILLQUIT: I have not insinuated——

MR. GOMPERS (Interrupting): Your question implies it.

MR. HILLQUIT: I am giving you an opportunity to deny.

MR. GOMPERS: If a man should ask me whether I still beat my wife, any answer I could make would incriminate me. If I answered that I did not, the intimation would be that I had stopped. If I answered that I did, the inference would be that I was continuing to beat her.

MR. HILLQUIT: But, Mr. Gompers, my question bears no analogy to that story——

MR. GOMPERS (Interrupting): Your question is an insult, and a studied one.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, will you state whether you will or will not answer my question?

MR. GOMPERS: Will you repeat the question?

MR. HILLQUIT: My question was whether the American Federation of Labor, as represented by its spokesman, has a general social philosophy, or whether the organization is working blindly from day to day. Now, that is a plain question.

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, it is a plain question—it is a plain insult.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Do you refuse to answer it on the ground that it is insulting?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: That is all, then.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then inform me on this: In its practical work in the labor movement is the American Federation of Labor guided by a general social philosophy, or is it not?

MR. GOMPERS: It is guided by the history of the past, drawing its lessons from history. It knows the conditions by which the working people are surrounded. It works along the line of least resistance and endeavors to accomplish the best results in improving the condition of the working people, men,

women and children, to-day and to-morrow—and to-morrow's to-morrow and each day, making it a better day than the one that had gone before. The guiding principle, philosophy and aim of the labor movement is to secure a better life for all.

MR. HILLQUIT: But in these efforts to improve conditions from day to day, you must have an underlying standard of what is better, don't you?

MR. GOMPERS: No. You start out with a given program, and everything must conform to it; and if the facts do not conform to your theories, then your actions betray the state of mind "so much the worse for the facts."

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Gompers, what I ask you is this: You say you try to make the conditions of the workers better every day. In order to determine whether the conditions are better or worse, you must have some standards by which you distinguish the bad from the good in the labor movement, must you not?

MR. GOMPERS: Certainly. Does it require much discernment to know that a wage of \$3.00 and a workday of 8 hours a day in sanitary workshops are all better than \$2.50 and 12 hours a day under perilous conditions of labor? It does not require much conception of a social philosophy to understand that.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then, Mr. Gompers, by parity of reasoning, \$4.00 a day and 7 hours of work, and truly attractive working conditions are still better?

MR. GOMPERS: Unquestionably.

MR. HILLQUIT: Therefore——

MR. GOMPERS (Interrupting): Just a moment. I have not stipulated \$4.00 a day or \$8.00 a day or any number of dollars a day or 8 hours a day or 7 hours a day or any number of hours a day. The aim is to secure the best conditions obtainable for the workers.

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes; and when these conditions are obtained——

MR. GOMPERS (Interrupting): Why, then we want better——

MR. HILLQUIT (Continuing): You will still strive for better?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, my question is, will this effort on the part of organized labor ever stop before the workers receive the full reward for their labor?

MR. GOMPERS: It won't stop at all at any particular point, whether it be that towards which you have just stated, or anything else. The working people will never stop in their effort to obtain a better life for themselves, and for their wives and for their children and for humanity.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then the object of the organized workmen is to obtain complete social justice for themselves and for their wives and for their children?

MR. GOMPERS: It is the effort to obtain a better life every day.

MR. HILLQUIT: Every day, and always——

MR. GOMPERS (Interrupting): Every day. That does not limit it.

MR. HILLQUIT: Until such time——

MR. GOMPERS (Interrupting): Not until any time.

MR. HILLQUIT: In other words——

MR. GOMPERS (Interrupting): In other words, we go farther than you. (Laughter and applause in the audience.) You have an end; we have not.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then, Mr. Gompers, you want to go on record as saying that the American Federation of Labor goes farther in its endeavors than the Socialist Party. If the Socialist Party has for its present purpose the abolition of the system of profits and wages, and seeks to secure for the workers the full product of their labor, if this is the purposes which it seeks to obtain by gradual steps—then I understand you to say that the American Federation of Labor goes beyond that.



MR. GOMPERS: I have said this, and I say that no categorical answer, Yes, or No, can be given to that question. As just indicated, as to the abolition of private profits and wages—there are a number of employers who quite agree with you; they would reduce wages or take wages away entirely. The question of the co-operative commonwealth and the ownership of the means of production and distribution is implied by it. Now, let me say—

MR. HILLQUIT (Interrupting): It is not, Mr. Gompers.

MR. GOMPERS: Well, all right.

MR. HILLQUIT: I am not proposing any system. I want your aims and the limits of your aims.

MR. GOMPERS: By your question, you want to place me in the position of saying that I am for the system of society which some of you dreamers have conceived of, and then say that I go beyond it.

MR. HILLQUIT: I do not, Mr. Gompers, you interrupted me—

MR. GOMPERS (Interrupting): Well, you interrupted me, so we are even. And I say that the movement of the working people, whether under the American Federation, or not, will be simply following the human impulse for improvement in their condition, and wherever that may lead, they will go, without having a goal up to yours or surpassing yours. It will lead them constantly to greater material, physical, social and moral well-being.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then, Mr. Gompers, you would not say that the difference between the program of the American Federation of Labor, and that of the Socialist Party is a quantitative one—that the Socialist Party wants more than the American Federation of Labor. You would not say that, would you?

MR. GOMPERS: I don't know that it is necessary that I should make the comparison. It is not inter-

esting at all, nor is it a contribution to the subject which the Commission desires to examine.

MR. HILLQUIT: You decline to answer?

MR. GOMPERS: The question is not germane to the subject under inquiry, and is not necessary.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: I would like to hear it answered if possible, Mr. Gompers. If it is not possible for any reason, very well.

MR. GOMPERS: May I hear the question read?

(Question read.)

MR. GOMPERS: Socialism is a proposition to place the working people of the country and of the world in a physical and material straight-jacket.

MR. HILLQUIT: Pardon me, Mr. Gompers, I have not asked you your opinion about the effects of the co-operative commonwealth. I am speaking merely about the aim to abolish the wage system and the program to secure for the workers the full product of their labor; and I am asking you whether on these points we demand more than the American Federation has ultimately in view.

MR. GOMPERS: I think you demand something to which the American labor movement declines to give its adherence.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then do I understand you to say that the American labor movement would discountenance the abolition of the wage system and the return of the full reward of labor to the workers?

MR. GOMPERS: Your question is an assumption, and is unwarranted, for as a matter of fact we decline to commit our labor movement to your species of speculative philosophy.

MR. HILLQUIT: I have not introduced speculative philosophy, Mr. Gompers. If I cannot make myself clear, please tell me so.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: May I be permitted here to ask the stenographer to read that last question?

MR. HILLQUIT: Certainly, Mr. Chairman.

(The question read as follows): I am speaking merely about the aim to abolish the wage system, and about the program to secure to the workers the full product of their labor, and I am asking in this respect whether we demand more than the American Federation of Labor has ultimately in view.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: That is with reference to getting the full product of labor alone?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Now, can you answer that directly, Mr. Gompers?

MR. GOMPERS: No; that is impossible to answer by a Yes or No.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Then let it stand there, because that implies that it is impossible to answer it.

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Gompers, when you stated first that the workingmen of to-day do not get the full reward for their labor or the full product of their toil, will you tell me who gets the part which is withheld from the workers?

MR. GOMPERS: Investment, superintendence, the agencies for the creation of wants among the people, and many others.

MR. HILLQUIT: Well, then, in your opinion those are legitimate factors in industry entitled to reward?

MR. GOMPERS: Many of them, yes; many of them are being eliminated.

MR. HILLQUIT: Which ones are entitled and which ones are not entitled to reward?

MR. GOMPERS: Superintendence, the creation of wants, administration, return for investment——

MR. HILLQUIT: Return for investment? Does that include every kind of capital invested in industry, regardless of origin?

MR. GOMPERS: No, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then what do you mean by return for investment?

MR. GOMPERS: For honest investment. I don't

mean watered stocks or inflated holdings, but honest investment.

MR. HILLQUIT: Honest stock investment?

MR. GOMPERS: Honest investment. I did not say "stock investment."

MR. HILLQUIT: Well, I am talking about stock investment, Mr. Gompers. Do you consider dividends paid by corporations as distinguished from salaries paid for superintendence and so on—do you consider that a legitimate charge on the products of labor?

MR. GOMPERS: That depends entirely as to the character of the services performed.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, I assume that no service is performed. So far as services are performed are concerned, we have classified those under the head of superintendence, management, initiation, and so on. Now, I am referring to the dividends on stock, which is paid to stockholders by virtue of stock ownership, and regardless of any activity on the part of the stockholder.

MR. GOMPERS: I am speaking of honest investment, too, which you did not include.

MR. HILLQUIT: Will you please answer that question with such qualifications as you may deem proper to make?

MR. GOMPERS: I have already replied, and I now repeat, upon honest investment, yes.

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Gompers, assume that I purchase to-day in the open market and pay the full price for, say, 100 shares of Steel Corporation stock. The next quarter year I get my dividends on it. Am I entitled to such dividends?

MR. GOMPERS: Mr. Chairman, I suggest that if Mr. Hillquit is going to permit this investigation to degenerate into a question of high finance, why, we had better get a high financier here.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: I think that is a proper ques-

tion and germane to this inquiry, but if you cannot answer it, you may say so.

MR. GOMPERS: I wish respectfully, Mr. Chairman, to differ from that remark of the Chair——

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Then you don't care to answer?

MR. GOMPERS: I decline to answer it on the ground that it is not material to the question, and purely a question of a financial character. It is not a question upon which proper interrogation can be made.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: I have ruled that it was, but we are not going to compel Mr. Gompers to reply to it.

MR. HILLQUIT: No, of course not.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Go ahead.

MR. HILLQUIT: Will you please define what you call honest investment as distinguished——

MR. GOMPERS (Interrupting): An honest man finds no difficulty in determining what is honest.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, Mr. Gompers, that is really not an answer. You have made that statement, and I presume you mean something by it; I should like to know what you mean?

MR. GOMPERS: I mean honest, actual physical investment.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, I am asking you, does the purchase of stock with real physical money, at the full price constitute such an honest investment?

MR. GOMPERS: First let me say, in answer to that question, that with the manipulations of stocks and of the stock market, I am out of harmony. I am opposed to it, and have done and will do whatever I can to eliminate that speculation involved in the fundamentals of stock jobbery and stock sales.

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Gompers, you are familiar with industrial conditions as few men in this country. You know perfectly well that the most important industries in the United States are managed and operated by corporations, and you know that the income

from such industries is distributed very largely in the form of dividends on stocks and interest on bonds, don't you?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, I am asking you this question: As the President of the American Federation of Labor do you consider that the vast sum of money paid annually by industry in the shape of such dividends on stock and interest on bonds in the various industries are a legitimate and proper charge upon the product of labor, or do you not?

MR. GOMPERS: I do not.

MR. HILLQUIT: That is an answer. Then the stock holders or bond holders of modern corporations receive a workless income from the product of the workers who have produced it. Is that your opinion?

MR. GOMPERS: Unquestionably.

MR. HILLQUIT: And the efforts of the American labor movement to secure a larger share are directed against that class who gets such improper income?

MR. GOMPERS: Against all who——

MR. HILLQUIT: Against all who obtain a workless income which comes from the product of labor. Is that correct?

MR. GOMPERS: Well, all who illegitimately stand between the workers and the attainment of a better life.

MR. HILLQUIT: Which means, or does it not mean, all those who derive an income without work by virtue of their control of the industry?

MR. GOMPERS: No.

MR. HILLQUIT: Whom do you except?

MR. GOMPERS: I except, as I have before called attention to, honest investment, honest enterprise.

MR. HILLQUIT: Have the efforts of the workers in the American Federation of Labor and in other labor organizations to obtain a larger share of the product,

met a favorable reception from those who obtain what we may call the unearned part of the product?

MR. GOMPERS: If you mean the employers——

MR. HILLQUIT: Employers, stockholders, bondholders, the capitalist class generally.

MR. GOMPERS: As a matter of fact, there has been very much opposition to the efforts of the working people to secure improved conditions.

MR. HILLQUIT: And that opposition is based upon the desire of the beneficiaries of the present system of distribution to retain as much as possible of their present share or to increase it, is it not?

MR. GOMPERS: I suppose it is not difficult to determine that that is one of the reasons. But one additional reason is that there are employers who live in the 20th century and have the mentality of the 16th century in regard to their attitude toward working people. They still imagine that they are the masters of all that serve, and that any attempt on the part of the working people to secure improvement in their condition is a species of rebellion—a rebellious spirit which must be bounded down. But we find this, Mr. Hillquit, that after we have had some contests with employers of such a character, whether we have won the battle or lost it, if we but maintain our organization, there is less difficulty thereafter in reaching a joint agreement or a collective bargain involving improved conditions for the working people.

MR. HILLQUIT: That is, if you retain your organization?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: And the stronger the organization, the more likelihood of securing such concessions, is that correct?

MR. GOMPERS: Unquestionably.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then it is not on account of the changed sentiment of the employer, that he is ready to

yield, but on account of greater strength shown by the employees, is that correct?

MR. GOMPERS: Not entirely.

MR. HILLQUIT: No, why not?

MR. GOMPERS: Not entirely, for, as a matter of fact, the employer changes his sentiment when he is convinced that the workingmen have demonstrated that they have the right to have a voice in determining the questions affecting the relations between themselves and their employers, as evidenced, if you please, by the late Mr. Baer, who, you may recall, once declared that he would not confer with the representative of the miners or anyone who stood for them; that he and his associates were the trustees of God in the administration of their property, and appointed to take care of the rights and interests of the working people. Well, he lived to revise his judgment, as many other employers live to revise their judgments, and have come to agreements with their workmen.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, Mr. Gompers, the employers as a class, being interested in retaining their share of the general product or increasing it, and the workers as you say, being determined to demand an ever greater and greater share of it, would you say that the economic interests between the two classes are harmonious or not?

MR. GOMPERS: I say they are not, and as I am under affirmation before this Commission, I take this opportunity of saying that no man within the range of my acquaintance has ever been so thoroughly misrepresented on that question as I have.

MR. HILLQUIT: State your actual position.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: At this joint the Commission will adjourn until 2 o'clock.



## FOURTH SESSION.

### The Conflicts between Capital and Labor

CHAIRMAN WALSH: The Commission will now come to order, please. You may proceed, Mr. Hillquit.

MR. GOMPERS: Mr. Chairman, I desire to finish the answer which I was about to make to the question upon the recess being taken.

The question propounded essentially was whether I believed that the relations between the employers and employes are harmonious.

MR. HILLQUIT: Economically harmonious.

MR. GOMPERS: I answered No, and I stated that I have been misrepresented by Socialist writers and orators upon that subject so many times that they themselves finally believe it, and no amount of emphatic repudiation of that statement, and no matter how often that repudiation was expressed by me, has made any change in the assertion that my position is contrary to the one I have stated here.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then you want to go on record now, Mr. Gompers, as stating that, in your opinion, the economic interests of the employing classes, and those of the workers are not harmonious?

MR. GOMPERS: I have no desire to particularly go on record here upon that subject. That record has been made from my earliest understanding of the conditions which prevail in the industrial world.

MR. HILLQUIT: And that is your answer now?

MR. GOMPERS: That has been my position ever since, and has not been changed in the slightest. There

are times when there are, for temporary purposes, reconcilable conditions, but they are temporary only. When a fair and reasonable opportunity presents itself for continued improvement in the condition of the workers, that movement must necessarily go on, and will go on.

MR. HILLQUIT: And that movement, Mr. Gompers, must be a movement of the workers as workers, is that correct?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir, undominated by the so-called intellectuals or butters-in.

MR. HILLQUIT: In other words, the movement for the working class improvement must be conducted by the workers as such in order to be effective?

MR. GOMPERS: To be the most effective.

MR. HILLQUIT: And it must be necessarily conducted against the employing classes?

MR. GOMPERS: It is conducted for the working people.

MR. HILLQUIT: And is it or is it not conducted against the interests of the employing people?

MR. GOMPERS: It is conducted for the interests of the employed people.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, Mr. Gompers, you have stated before that the interests of the working people are not harmonious with those of the employing classes. You have also stated that in order to secure lasting and valuable improvements, the workers as such must conduct their own battles. Are not such battles conducted against somebody?

MR. GOMPERS: They are primarily conducted *for* somebody.

MR. HILLQUIT: But can a battle be conducted *for* somebody which is not also conducted *against* somebody?

MR. GOMPERS: As to those who stand in the way and are hostile to the advance of the conditions of the

working people, it is conducted against them, whoever they may be.

MR. HILLQUIT: Who are they, as a matter of fact, in your opinion?

MR. GOMPERS: Those employers who refuse to understand modern industrial conditions and constant needs for advancement of the working people.

MR. HILLQUIT: In other words, those employers who refuse to accede to the demands of organized labor, is that correct?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: Is that class of employers limited to only such who have a narrow social vision? Or does it extend pretty largely to the entire employing class, in your experience.

MR. GOMPERS: It is growing less and less so. As a matter of fact, there are more employers to-day who live under collective bargains with their organized working people than at any time in the history of the industrial world.

MR. HILLQUIT: And as to those employers who have agreements for collective bargaining with employes, do they, as a rule, and within your experience, volunteer improvements to their employes, or are such improvements forced from them either by method of collective bargaining, or by strikes or other weapons of the labor movement?

MR. GOMPERS: That is usually in the initiative stages of the altered relations between workers and employers. Later, there is a realization on the part of the employers that it is more costly to enter into prolonged strikes or lockouts, and they are willing to concede demands rather than to have the industry interrupted. This grows in extent and alters the vision of the employer. It changes his attitude toward the workmen. So that his sentiment and views are often in entire accord with the organization of the working people.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, taking the relations of the employer and employes as a whole, would you say that the gains made by the organized labor movement in this country have to any large extent been the result of a free gift on the part of the employing classes? Or would you say that they have been wrung from the employing classes by organized labor?

MR. GOMPERS: There is no question as to the fact of the latter alternative in your question being the correct one. What the workingmen of America have obtained in improved conditions, higher wages and shorter hours of labor, were not handed to them on a silver platter. They had to organize, they had to show their teeth, they had to strike, and they had to go hungry and make sacrifices in order to impress upon the employers their determination to be larger sharers in the production of wealth.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then, as a whole, the achievements of the American labor movements have been accomplished in organized struggles of the workers against their employers. Is that correct?

MR. GOMPERS: As a rule, but——

MR. HILLQUIT: There are exceptions?

MR. GOMPERS: There are exceptions. For instance, you might say there have been a number of workmen who were unorganized, or nearly unorganized. The instance comes to me just now of the coal miners. In their first strike, in 1897, there was not 3 per cent. organized. And yet upon the initiative of the union and the recommendation of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, a movement was inaugurated to present a scale to the mine operators in the bituminous fields with a warning that unless the proposed increase in wages and other demands were granted upon a certain day, there would come a call urging the miners to lay down their tools. The employers realizing the unorganized condition of the miners never for a moment imagined that the small

union would have any influence upon their so-called "independent workers," the workingmen over whom they had exercised domination for a long time. As a matter of fact, however, the miners responded and, though they were unorganized, there was a group-patriotism to which I referred in the early part of my testimony, a camaraderie, an understanding of their common interests, and they received the assistance of their fellow workmen in other industries, the full assistance of the American Federation of Labor, until, finally, it resulted in the regeneration of the miners. They won, and they established the 8-hour day, the right to make purchases of their necessities wherever they chose; the right to be at least like any other ordinary citizens and men, and the spirit and influence spread until it reached the anthracite coal fields and the entire competitive fields in the bituminous coal fields in other States and so on. The same is true in the garment trades, in the needle trades and in several others.

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Gompers, in all those instances the workers organized during the fight?

MR. GOMPERS: After the fight.

MR. HILLQUIT: But it was collective action on their part, anyhow?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes.

MR. HILLQUIT: And there is no exception to the rule that in order to obtain lasting improvements, the workers must collectively struggle for it, as workers?

MR. GOMPERS: All workers, yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: And in such struggles, the workers cannot possibly be aided by the employing classes, can they?

MR. GOMPERS: That is not entirely so, because it frequently occurs that the competitive interests of the employers may impel some of them to aid the workingmen in the establishment of what has become

known as standardized conditions in the trade—a minimum of standardization.

MR. HILLQUIT: Just incidents in the struggles of the workers, and of which the workers take advantage when the occasions arise?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: But on the whole, the American Federation of labor recognizes that the struggle for improvement of the conditions of the workers is a struggle of the workers, and principally the organized workers, does it not?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes.

MR. HILLQUIT: You don't tolerate within your unions employers as members?

MR. GOMPERS: We do not. That is, our affiliated unions do not. In the directly affiliated locals, those locals which have no national bodies of their own, we don't permit employers to become members.

MR. HILLQUIT: Can you conceive of any scheme by which the interests of the employer and those of the employes could be made harmonious and their co-operation could lead to the same beneficent results as the independent struggles of the workers?

MR. GOMPERS: I know of no means by which the interests of the employers and the workingmen can be made harmonious in the full and broad sense of that term.

MR. HILLQUIT: And do you concede that a labor leader is most useful to his organization and to his movement when he devotes his time and his thought, single-mindedly, to the interests of the labor organizations?

MR. GOMPERS: And to the working people.

MR. HILLQUIT: To the working people?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: And do you consider a labor leader who combines with a number of prominent employers in an alleged effort to improve the condition of the

workers to be doing useful work for the labor movement?

MR. GOMPERS: I maintain that it is the duty of such men whom you designate as labor leaders to carry the word and message and to preach the doctrine and the gospel of justice to labor, to any place on earth, and to any people on earth; to defend that doctrine; to promote a better understanding among any and all. It is the duty of every leader to make his cause known wherever the opportunity presents itself.

MR. HILLQUIT: For the benefit and advantage of the working class, is it not?

MR. GOMPERS: Absolutely and alone.

MR. HILLQUIT: And is it not likewise in the interests of the large employers of labor to carry the gospel of their interests wherever they can, and particularly into the camp of labor?

MR. GOMPERS: Whether it is their interests I am not prepared to say, but I judge from my own experience that that is not the truth, and it is not the fact.

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Gompers, do you know of the existence of the National Manufacturers' Association?

MR. GOMPERS: I do.

MR. HILLQUIT: Do you think that the National Manufacturers' Association has no interest in carrying the anti-labor gospel or, if you want, the employers' gospel, to all four quarters of the earth?

MR. GOMPERS: I know that the National Association of Manufacturers is absolutely hostile to the labor movement and everything it represents, but that is not such an association in which a labor leader is either accepted or tolerated. He therefore cannot bring the doctrine and the message of labor there.

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, but the National Association of Manufacturers is an association of employers.

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, it is. But, Mr. Hillquit, don't

let us lose unnecessary time, because you haven't got that association in mind.

MR. HILLQUIT: We will come to it if you will just wait. When I referred to the National Association of Manufacturers, I meant to bring out the point that it is in the interests of the employers to actively organize a warfare against organized labor. Do you agree with that?

MR. GOMPERS: Primarily that is its avowed purpose. It has a greater purpose, and that is to prevent organization of working people to protect themselves or to promote their interests. As a matter of fact the president of that organization, only a few days ago, declared that he was going to form a new union—over our heads.

MR. HILLQUIT: That new union, in this case, was not to be a bona fide labor union, but a scab union, as you understand it.

MR. GOMPERS: I might say it is treason to the labor movements and treason to the interests of labor.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, Mr. Gompers, isn't that, at any rate, to your mind a manifestation of the fact that employers in their relation to employes and to the labor movement, will be guided by their economic interests?

MR. GOMPERS: Generally speaking, yes; but the largest number of employers are not members of that organization, and are not in accord with that association. In addition, let me say, that I know that there are quite a number of employers who belong to the National Association of Manufacturers because of the trade advantages which are secured through the other features and branches of the activity of the National Association of Manufacturers.

MR. HILLQUIT: Admitting that the employing classes have certain economic interests opposed to the working classes, would you think it natural to expect



that they would organize in defense of their interests and against the organized labor movement?

MR. GOMPERS: If they organized at all for the consideration of that subject, that would be the purpose.

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Gompers, do you know the history and origin of the National Civic Federation?

MR. GOMPERS: I do.

MR. HILLQUIT: By whom was it organized?

MR. GOMPERS: By Mr. Ralph M. Easley, together with some businessmen and publicists and a few workmen in the City of Chicago.

MR. HILLQUIT: When it became a national institution was it not the late Mark Hanna who was its first leading spirit?

MR. GOMPERS: No, sir, that is a Socialist misrepresentation of the facts.

MR. HILLQUIT: Was Mr. Mark Hanna connected with the organization at all, so far as you know?

MR. GOMPERS: Many years after its first formation.

MR. HILLQUIT: When it became an institution of national scope was Mr. Hanna connected with it?

MR. GOMPERS: After it had become an institution of national scope, and a considerable time after.

MR. HILLQUIT: And while he was so connected, was not he rather a leading figure in the Federation?

MR. GOMPERS: He was for two years its president—President of the National Civic Federation. May I suggest at the start that when you speak of the American Federation of Labor you designate its name, and when you speak of the Civic Federation you designate it by its name, and you do not confuse the record by the indefinite word "Federation" as applied equally to both.

MR. HILLQUIT: You would not want to have the American Federation of Labor mistaken for the National Civic Federation?

MR. GOMPERS: Oh, I would not want by your indications and insinuations to create such confusion.

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Gompers, were not and are not some of the leading members of the National Civic Federation very well known capitalists?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: Will you name some of them?

MR. GOMPERS: Mr. Hanna, Mr. Seth Low, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, Mr. Belmont——

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Schwab?

MR. GOMPERS: No.

MR. HILLQUIT: Was Mr. Schwab never a member of the National Civic Federation?

MR. GOMPERS: Not to my knowledge—Mr. Brown, of the New York Central Railroad—and I think Mr. Delano—no? Mr. Delano says he was not. Oh, quite a number of large employers of labor.

MR. HILLQUIT: And the object of the Federation, among other things, was to adjust certain labor disputes, was it not?

MR. GOMPERS: It was not.

MR. HILLQUIT: Doesn't the Civic Federation maintain a department of Mediation, Arbitration, and other instrumentalities for the adjustment of labor disputes?

MR. GOMPERS: It has a department of Mediation. It makes no efforts at arbitration, unless called upon to do so voluntarily by both sides. It has brought together employers and workingmen engaged in tremendously important disputes, who, it seemed, could not be brought together for the purpose of discussing their diverse points of view and diverse interests; and the result has been that agreements have been reached between large bodies of workers and large employers, the terms and conditions of labor being improved, to the mutual satisfaction—at least temporarily—to the mutual satisfaction of both parties to the dispute.

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Gompers, has not the Civic Federation also taken a stand on various other practical problems of the labor movement and labor legislation?

MR. GOMPERS: Never, unless it was adhered to by the representatives of the working people.

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, sir, but with such adherence the Civic Federation has undertaken such work, has it not?

MR. GOMPERS: Not undertaken it, but aided in it.

MR. HILLQUIT: Aided in it?

MR. GOMPERS: Aided the working people in their organized capacity to accomplish it.

MR. HILLQUIT: For instance, in the propaganda for a Workmen's Compensation Act?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, and since you have mentioned the Workmen's Compensation Act, it is due to the American labor movement to say that immediately upon the close of the session last evening, I called up on the 'phone Mr. Daniel Harris, President of the New York State Federation of Labor, and asked him as to the connection of yourself and the Socialist Party in the work of securing a Workmen's Compensation Act for the State of New York, and he informed me and showed me the record, that the bill which you advocated was one which was impossible of enactment by the Legislature of the State of New York. It required specifically that there should be an appropriation of one million dollars; that a member of the Commission shall be a Socialist, and it contained such other provisions as were not only impossible of enactment, but repugnant to the interests of the working people of the State of New York; that they could not and would not stand for the bill and that, as a matter of fact, it was a species of assistance such as we find in Legislatures and which, under a pretense of kindness for the legislation under consideration will kill and defeat the very object of the bill; and that now there is upon the statute books of the State of New York the best and most comprehensive and generous Workmen's Compensation Law

that prevails in any State or in any country on the face of the globe.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: The question was, in this case, Mr. Gompers, whether or not the National Civic Federation advocated the last Workmen's Compensation Act. Is that it?

MR. HILLQUIT: A Workmen's Compensation Act.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Did it or not?

MR. GOMPERS: It did.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then, Mr. Gompers, your belief is that the capitalists who have come into the Civic Federation and have led its movements for solution of certain labor problems, have done so for the benefit of the working class?

MR. GOMPERS: Your assumption is wrong when you say that they have led the National Civic Federation.

MR. HILLQUIT: They have participated in its work, have they?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, Mr. Gompers, have they done so, in your opinion, for the benefit of organized labor?

MR. GOMPERS: I think they have done it in an attempt to secure some improvement in the conditions of the working people. I should say, for instance, that in the matter of workmen's compensation, the Civic Federation had a committee for over a year studying that subject. Among them, Mr. Tecumseh Sherman and others. They had experts from all over the country, and they formulated a bill. When the New York State Federation of Labor declared that it would not stand for that bill, the Civic Federation immediately withdrew it from consideration.

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Gompers, I thought we were agreed on brief questions and brief answers for the little time we still have. Your answer, then, is that the men you named did work in the Civic Federation, with a desire to help labor?

MR. GOMPERS: I did not say that.

MR. HILLQUIT: What did you say?

MR. GOMPERS: I said they endeavored, in so far as they could, to help in the formulation of a bill on workmen's compensation that would be helpful and beneficial.

MR. HILLQUIT: Pardon me. I am not referring to workmen's compensation alone. I am referring to the motives of the capitalists you have named and I am asking you whether you believe that these capitalists have been giving their time and their work of the Civic Federation for the benefit of the working classes.

MR. GOMPERS: I will say that I don't know their motives. I simply know their acts, and I say that there has never been an action taken by the National Civic Federation that was hostile to the interests of the working people.

MR. HILLQUIT: You have stated before, Mr. Gompers, that you believe there is no harmony between the interests of the employing classes and those of the workers, and that you believe that the workers must depend upon their own efforts as workers, without the interventions of "intellectuals," or others, to secure improvements. Now, I ask you: Do you believe that they can secure such improvements through the intervention of capitalists of the type that you have named in the Civic Federation?

MR. GOMPERS: First, when you speak of the "intellectuals" to whom I referred, I say that I mean the intellectuals who undertake to dominate our movement. The National Civic Federation have never attempted to dominate the affairs of our movement. And, second, I do not know what motives they have. I simply know their acts. It is most difficult for any one to determine even your motive or my motive. I only can judge of people's acts, and I know their acts

in the Civic Federation have never been hostile to the interests of the working people.

MR. HILLQUIT: Then you think it is perfectly proper for an official representative of the American Federation of Labor to co-operate with well-known capitalist employers for common ends?

MR. GOMPERS: There is no such thing as that upon which your question is predicated.

MR. HILLQUIT: Answer the question, whether you think it proper or not.

MR. GOMPERS: This is another one of those questions the answer to which will convict.

MR. HILLQUIT: It might, Mr. Gompers.

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, and it will.

MR. HILLQUIT: You think so?

MR. GOMPERS: Mr. Hillquit, I may not be quite so clever, but at least I shall try to be truthful and assume nothing unless I have a basis for it. There is no such thing as co-operation between the leaders of the labor movement and the leaders of the National Civic Federation. So far as I am concerned, I can go anywhere where men assemble, and where they consider questions affecting the working people. I can meet with them and bring the message of labor to them, and argue and contend as best I can with them for the rights of the working people, and if I can influence them to an act of helpfulness toward any one thing in which the working people are interested, I have accomplished something. I have never felt that I have come away with my skirts besmirched, or my character impaired, or my determination to toil and struggle for the working people impeded or impaired in any way.

MR. HILLQUIT: And you think it is perfectly feasible and possible for a labor leader to influence the large employers and capitalists in the National Civic Federation to take measures for the benefit of organized labor?

MR. GOMPERS: That is not the question. I will appeal to the devil and his mother-in-law to help labor if labor can be aided in that way.

MR. HILLQUIT: And will you co-operate with them?

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Please proceed to some other question.

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Gompers, do you not think there is a contradiction between your previous statement to the effect that there is an antagonism between the interests of employers and of employes; that the struggles of the workers are directed against the employers, and that those struggles must be conducted by themselves as workers and your activities in the National Civic Federation?

MR. GOMPERS: No. As a matter of fact the National Civic Federation is quite as emphatically damned by the National Association of Manufacturers as it is by you and your associates, because the National Association of Manufacturers say that it is dominated by the labor leaders.

MR. HILLQUIT: Do you agree with them, the National Manufacturers' Association?

MR. GOMPERS: I should prefer not to say. I would not care to weaken such influence as I might have with the National Civic Federation by claiming that I do dominate it.

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Gompers, you are familiar with the trade union movement in other countries of the world?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes, sir, fairly well.

MR. HILLQUIT: Can you name a single instance in any country of the world where representatives of the trade union movement have any affiliation similar to that existing between some of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the National Civic Federation?

MR. GOMPERS: As a matter of fact, there is no such affiliation here as that which you refer to.

MR. HILLQUIT: You hold membership in the National Civic Federation?

MR. GOMPERS: I do not, sir; there is no such thing as membership.

MR. HILLQUIT: Aren't you an officer of the Civic Federation?

MR. GOMPERS: I am.

MR. HILLQUIT: But not a member?

MR. GOMPERS: There is no such thing. It is a voluntary association of men who are willing to give aid or to secure aid. They simply attend. The officers are simply a matter of administrative—what is it they perform?

MR. HILLQUIT: Whatever it is. Does anybody appoint or elect the officers of the National Civic Federation?

MR. GOMPERS: Those who may come to the annual meetings.

MR. HILLQUIT: Those who happen to come in?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes.

MR. HILLQUIT: And they elect?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes.

MR. HILLQUIT: And you are such elected officer?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes.

MR. HILLQUIT: I would like to ask whether you know any analogous example anywhere in the world of where the officers of a national labor movement hold office in a body similar to the National Civic Federation?

MR. GOMPERS: No, that is impossible.

MR. HILLQUIT: Of course.

MR. GOMPERS: As a matter of fact, there isn't any capitalist—say, for instance—in Germany, who would condescend to meet with a representative of labor. And yet, let me call your attention to this fact that, in the strike of the building trades in Berlin which, subsequently, extended all through Germany two years ago, a Board of Arbitration was selected, and there



were capitalists and public officials on it, and not one labor man.

MR. HILLQUIT: Is that the closest analogy to the National Civic Federation you can think of?

MR. GOMPERS: No. In England, when the coal strike occurred two years ago, there were conferences, associated efforts, between the coal miners, the mine owners and representatives of what you would term the capitalistic government.

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes; those are all special cases of temporary co-operation, but not definite, permanent organizations, are they?

MR. GOMPERS: All for a definite purpose, and the only way in which I am engaged in any work of the Civic Federation is in cases of that character.

MR. HILLQUIT: You say you are familiar with the trade movement abroad. Will you please state which movement in the European countries you consider the strongest?

MR. GOMPERS: Strongest in numbers, you mean?

MR. HILLQUIT: In numbers, things accomplished, and everything else that goes to make up success?

MR. GOMPERS: In Great Britain?

MR. HILLQUIT: And next to Great Britain?

MR. GOMPERS: Germany?

MR. HILLQUIT: Then?

MR. GOMPERS: I think that I might say, like the boy, "there ain't no then."

MR. HILLQUIT: How about Austria?

MR. GOMPERS: That is very poorly organized.

MR. HILLQUIT: How about Belgium?

MR. GOMPERS: Poorer organized.

MR. HILLQUIT: And how about the Scandinavian countries, Sweden, Norway and Denmark?

MR. GOMPERS: They were better organized before their general strike, about five years ago. That strike has weakened the movement there very materially.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, with respect to actual ac-

complishment, the attainment of definite measures of relief, which would you place ahead of the rest?

MR. GOMPERS: Which measures of relief?

MR. HILLQUIT: I mean reform measures in the nature of labor legislation, social insurance and similar measures?

MR. GOMPERS: I would say Germany. Next comes England.

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, then would you take Belgium?

MR. GOMPERS: No.

MR. HILLQUIT: What would you take next?

MR. GOMPERS: I would take Austria.

MR. HILLQUIT: And then?

MR. GOMPERS: Belgium.

MR. HILLQUIT: Now, Mr. Gompers, do you know the general political affiliations, attainments and practices of the German trade union movement?

MR. GOMPERS: I do, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: Are the German trade unionists pretty closely allied to the Socialist Party of Germany?

MR. GOMPERS: They are in their membership, and there is a sort of a common work, too. But this, too, must be borne in mind in regard to Germany: The trade unions of Germany have absolutely no right of lawful political activity. I have said, Mr. Hillquit, that if I were in Germany, I would belong to the Socialist Party, not because I would give adhesion to the philosophy of Socialism, but because it is the only protesting democratic party in Germany.

MR. HILLQUIT: And, as a matter of fact, Mr. Gompers, the large bulk of trade unionists in Germany supports the candidates of the Socialist Party in elections?

MR. GOMPERS: As a rule that is true.

MR. HILLQUIT: And also a number of prominent trade union leaders are Socialist members of Parliament, including the International Trade Union Secretary, Karl Legien?

MR. GOMPERS: Yes. You know that Mr. Legien belongs to the "Revisionists" in the Socialist Party, or the Bernstein School, which recognizes the absolute economic independence of the trade union movement from the political Socialist Party.

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, but that has nothing to do with the case.

MR. GOMPERS: That is what you may think.

MR. HILLQUIT: Well, let's proceed. Mr. Legien is a member in good standing of the Socialist Party, and also a leader in the trade labor movement. Do you know the political activity of the trade unionists in England?

MR. GOMPERS: I do.

MR. HILLQUIT: How does it express itself?

MR. GOMPERS: In an independent political party.

MR. HILLQUIT: Known as the Labor Party?

MR. GOMPERS: Labor Party.

MR. HILLQUIT: In which the Socialist organization known as the Independent Labor Party, and another Socialist organization known as the Fabian Society, are officially represented? Is that correct?

MR. GOMPERS: I think so, yes, sir.

MR. HILLQUIT: And do you know the political activity of the workers in Belgium?

MR. GOMPERS: Belgium is fairly representative of the political action of the workers. As a matter of fact, the Socialists of Brussels dominate the offices and dominate whatever of the labor movement there is in Belgium. That, as a consequence, has left the Belgium workmen the lowest in Europe in economic conditions. As a matter of fact, wherever the workmen are most active politically, there they lose sight of their economic interests, believing that by casting their vote once a year they can secure remedial legislation that will offset the work of trade unionism.

MR. HILLQUIT: Mr. Gompers, isn't it a fact that the American Federation of Labor is the only large

national body of organized workers which has no independent political policy, party, organization or affiliation of its own?

MR. GOMPERS: It is improper to place the American Federation of Labor in that position, because it has an independent political policy—a policy so politically independent that it is independent of the Socialist Party, too. It looks to achievements rather than the instrumentality of achievement, and we have achieved in the American labor movement more real betterment for the working people than has been accomplished by any other labor movement in the world.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Mr. Hillquit, this is intensely interesting to me, as I know it is to the balance of the Commission, but we must bring this to a close, and so I will, on behalf of the Commission, thank you very much for your contribution to our work, and will bring it to a close.

MR. HILLQUIT: Well, I understand, I will have a chance——

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Yes, you may be put on in rebuttal.

MR. HILLQUIT: Thank you.

## FIFTH SESSION.

### Socialism and Trade Unionism

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Please come to order. Call your next witness, Mr. Thompson.

Max S. Hayes, called as a witness, testified as follows:

MR. THOMPSON: Mr. Hayes, will you please give us your name, address and your occupation?

MR. HAYES: Max S. Hayes, 979, Parker Drive, Cleveland, Ohio. I am editor of the "Cleveland Citizen," organizer for the National Typographical Union, National Committeeman from Ohio for the Socialist Party, and I hold a few other similar positions.

MR. THOMPSON: Then, from your statement, Mr. Hayes, we are to understand that you are a member of a union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and also you are a member of the Socialist Party?

MR. HAYES: Yes, sir.

MR. THOMPSON: And have been an organizer for both in the past?

MR. HAYES: Yes, sir.

MR. THOMPSON: Mr. Hayes, did you hear the testimony which was given here yesterday by Mr. Gompers?

MR. HAYES: I did.

MR. THOMPSON: I would like to have you state, as you see it, the position occupied by the American Federation of Labor, its aims and objects, and the position occupied by the Socialist Party and its aims and ob-

jects; wherein they agree and in what respect they differ?

MR. HAYES: Well, in a general way, the aims and objects of the American Federation of Labor, so far as its political and social demands are concerned, are quite similar to those contained in the "Immediate Demands" of the platform of the Socialist Party. Holding a sort of dual position in the two organizations and having attended the conventions of the American Federation of Labor during the last fifteen years as a delegate, I have followed the trend quite closely and, naturally, have gained some convictions upon the principles upon which both organizations are founded. I want it understood that I am not here speaking as a representative of either organization. I have not been delegated by the Socialist Party, nor by the American Federation of Labor, to express the views of their memberships. I give my own impressions. In other words, I do not wish to pose as a labor leader or a Socialist leader. I would prefer to be classified as an ordinary labor and Socialist agitator. I sometimes become provoked when I am referred to as a labor leader or a Socialist leader because my impression of both movements is that they lead themselves largely, but have spokesmen, advocates, agitators, etc. In my capacity as a delegate to the American Federation of Labor, and as a member of the Socialist Party, as editor of the Citizen for the last twenty years, as a participant in the trade union movement for thirty years, and the Socialist movement for about 19 years, I have come to the conclusion that the American Federation of Labor is the logical economic organization for this country. I have no sympathy with the so-called Industrial Workers of the World, any more than I had for the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance which was organized prior to the I. W. W., or with the American Labor Union. I do not agree with Mr. Debs on the one hand in his

views as to the form of organization which the labor movement should take on the industrial field. Nor do I agree with Brother Sam Gompers on the other hand, in his opposition to the Socialist movement or to the progressive demands made by the Socialist movement.

There is not the difference between the membership of the Socialist Party and the membership of the trade unions that people are frequently led to believe exists, because of the contentions, the rivalries, the jealousies or the animosities that may exist between the so-called leaders of these movements. I do not wish to deal particularly with individuals, because, in the long run, there is not very much gained by criticising individuals. When I speak of individuals I want it understood that I am dealing with their views, with their qualities. Whatever antipathy may exist between Mr. Debs and Mr. Gompers as well known representatives of the organizations with which they are affiliated, does not exist among the rank and file.

To the uninformed individual, it might appear that there is a sort of gulf, an inseparable barrier, between the Socialist organization on the one side, and the labor movement on the industrial field on the other side.

Now, as a matter of fact, the very large bulk of the membership, a majority I would say, of the Socialist Party, is composed of trade unionists. I can speak from experience, when I say that. As representative of the Typographical Union, I have often been very materially assisted by Socialist organizations. For instance, in cities and towns in the Middle West, where we had no local organization, and where there appeared to be difficulty in getting the printers to form a Union and to affiliate with the International organization, I have written letters to members of Socialist locals and enlisted their co-operation in interesting printers in the subject of organization. Later

followed up the correspondence by a personal visit, with the result that we formed a union.

That is my individual experience. And, undoubtedly, many International Organizers—I am making a distinction between International organizers and the paid organizers of the American Federation of Labor, those directly connected with headquarters in Washington, have been assisted by Socialist organizations in the smaller towns. We have Socialist organizations in hundreds of towns where there are no unions, and they are often used for the purpose of securing the formation of trade unions. I might sit here and explain for an hour or more the co-operation that exists between the memberships of the Socialist Party and the labor unions, particularly in the smaller towns of the country.

MR. THOMPSON: May I interrupt you at this point?

MR. HAYES: Yes, sir.

MR. THOMPSON: Is it known in the Socialist Party that you are a member of the A. F. of L.?

MR. HAYES: Oh, certainly.

MR. THOMPSON: Has there ever been any objection to your membership in the A. F. of L. by the Socialist Party?

MR. HAYES: Absolutely none.

MR. THOMPSON: Has there ever been any objection by the American Federation of Labor to your membership and participation as an official in the Socialist Party?

MR. HAYES: None whatsoever.

MR. THOMPSON: Does that condition which exists with reference to you exist with reference to thousands of other workers?

MR. HAYES: It does.

MR. THOMPSON: Is there a fair percentage of membership in the American Federation of Labor, in your opinion, who are Socialists, avowedly such?



MR. HAYES: Yes, sir. There is a very large percentage. I am not able to give you exact figures, but you can form some opinion from the convention proceedings. If you will follow the A. F. of L. proceedings—and those who are delegates to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor know it—you will find that there is a steady increase in the number of representatives from the National unions, who are also Socialists.

Take the miners, just as an illustration. A very large percentage of the United Mine Workers to-day are Socialists. That is particularly true in the Middle West, in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Some of the mining towns in those states are almost solidly Socialist, as is demonstrated by the votes cast in the elections of delegates to their national conventions, usually held in Indianapolis. The same is true of the brewery workers, the machinists, and many other trades.

No objection has ever been raised by the Socialist Party. In fact the Socialist Party, the Socialist press and the prominent Socialists who do not happen to be in a position where they themselves can affiliate with trade unions, have advised and constantly insisted that the rank and file of the Socialist membership, whenever eligible, should join trade unions and assist in the struggles on the industrial field.

MR. THOMPSON: Mr. Hayes, you have said that you believe that the American Federation of Labor is the logical leader of the working class in this country?

MR. HAYES: Yes, sir.

MR. THOMPSON: And, for that reason, you object to the Industrial Workers of the World, to the Socialist Labor Party, to the American Labor Union, and to any other organization which undertakes to divide the field. Am I correct in that statement?

MR. HAYES: Yes, sir.

MR. THOMPSON: Why, then, do you co-operate

with the Socialist Party, and what is the reason that makes these two bodies, the American Federation of Labor, and the Socialist Party, capable of existing side by side and not dividing that field?

MR. HAYES: I am a member of the trade union movement, because it is the bread and butter organization. It is a movement that meets problems on the industrial field, as has been stated by President Gompers, from day to day, in reducing hours of labor, raising wages, gaining more decent working conditions in shops, mines and on the railroads of the country. That is an absolute necessity. But I recognize the limitations of the trade union movement, and I have come to the conclusion that it is absolutely necessary to also have a political expression of the wants and desires of the working class in order to place ourselves in a position of equality in waging the contest with the capitalists, who organize politically and industrially as well.

I recall when some of the ultra-conservatives in the American Federation of Labor opposed any and every form of political action, contending what the Industrial Workers of the World now claim: That the workers can secure by direct action without the assistance of governmental machinery whatever demands they may make; that they can achieve by purely economic action, a condition where they will be able to secure the full product of their toil.

We had, for instance, in the Kansas City convention in 1898, again in the Detroit convention, in the Louisville convention, debated those points, and prominent members and officers of the American Federation of Labor took the position that the labor movement should keep its hands off political manoeuvring in its efforts to gain advantages.

But there has been a sort of a steady evolution even among those conservatives to the extent that they now operate through what they call a Labor Represen-

tative Committee, adopting the name of the Labor Representative Committee of Great Britain. That is merely the name, however. There were, I believe, three individuals selected at the conference in Washington to steer the labor movement along political lines, whereas in Great Britain the Labor Representative Committee developed into the Labor Party, with which the Independent Labor Party of which Keir Hardy is one of the prominent spokesmen, is affiliated, and with which the British Socialist Party will undoubtedly affiliate within the next few months. There is a referendum vote on now on that very proposition. So that there will be a combination in Great Britain of those three or four parties, including the Fabian Society.

And now, do you want to ask questions?

MR. THOMPSON: I want to ask you directly, isn't it the fact to-day that the American Federation of Labor is taking a very direct interest in legislation affecting the welfare of the workingmen of this country?

MR. HAYES: Yes, that is what I intended to develop, to show that the officers of the American Federation of Labor have advocated political action and the election of members to Congress who are now classified as a Labor Group, in a loose manner. Practically every member of the Labor Group, however, maintains his adherence and responsibility to his political party. Thus, for instance, Secretary of Labor Wilson made the public statement that he cannot and will not be regarded as a labor representative. He was elected as a Democrat and, logically, affiliated himself with his Party in Congress. He is, however, a labor man. Now, there comes the division in the labor movement. The conservative elements are inclined to the view that more can be accomplished by acting through the old parties in the election of members to Congress, while the radical elements, with

which I generally affiliate in the American Federation conventions, insist that the only logical, definite and substantial manner to make progress is through a Party that is composed wholly and solely of labor men. That is, we contend that it is essential that we be as conscious of our solidarity as workers on the political field as we are on the industrial field. We maintain that it is an absurdity to make demands upon the industrial field from the employing class and then turn around and elect attorneys to Congress and to the State Legislatures, who are dominated, as has been proven in any number of investigations, by large corporations and, naturally, side with the employers when it comes to a crisis, and make it difficult to secure the enactment of legislation which we have been demanding for many years, such as the curbing of the injunction curse in labor controversies, amending the Sherman Law, and so on. It is difficult to force those measures through the National Congress or the State Legislatures, because of the fact that these attorneys and capitalists, manufacturers, merchants, etc., understand their class interest much better than the workers understand their class interest. Hence, in every contest where the lines are sharply drawn, the capitalist representatives usually are opposed to the enactment of remedial legislation for labor. In this country we have had a tremendous advantage over the workers in Europe, who were mentioned yesterday. The workers in Europe have had more to contend with than we have had in this country. They have been held in a condition of industrial slavery for centuries, from the feudal state down to the present capitalist system of industry. The workers in Europe have found the class lines drawn against them, the lines of privilege. The church and State were allied against them. Here we have been practically free and yet the workers are paying abso-

lutely no attention to their political power so far as going along independent lines is concerned.

MR. THOMPSON: Mr. Hayes, did I understand you correctly that one of the lines of demarcation between the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party is this: That in matters of Legislation the American Federation of Labor will affiliate indiscriminately with any other Party if it may be able to carry its purposes, whereas the Socialist Party believes in organizing a Party of its own to stand for whatever it advocates?

MR. HAYES: Yes, sir.

MR. THOMPSON: Now, in regard to the concrete or present industrial situation, the Socialist Party believes in letting that field lie in the hands of the American Federation of Labor to adjust the present-day working hours, wages and conditions?

MR. HAYES: Yes, sir.

MR. THOMPSON: Whereas, they look forward to a programme which deals more particularly with the philosophy or theory of what Society should be ultimately?

MR. HAYES: In the political sense, yes.

MR. THOMPSON: That is correct?

MR. HAYES: Yes.

MR. THOMPSON: Now, Mr. Hayes, coming down to one or two concrete questions. Mr. Gompers stated yesterday, if I remember it rightly, that the American Federation of Labor would take a stand against the limitation of the hours of work, by legislation. Was that his personal opinion or is that the general view of the American Federation of Labor on that subject?

MR. HAYES: Well, it certainly is his personal opinion. I don't know of any instance, nationally or in any State, where there has been any opposition from the trades unions against the enactment of an eight-hour law. In fact, it has been the cardinal principle of the American Federation of Labor to demand

the enactment of an eight-hour law to affect not only the workers directly employed by Uncle Sam, but those who are furnishing supplies to the United States Government. We have the same law in States. I do not know but what Mr. Gompers was misunderstood somewhat.

COMMISSIONER O'CONNELL: That certainly could not have been Mr. Gompers' position yesterday.

MR. HAYES: As I understand Mr. Gompers' contention against the enactment of the eight-hour law, it was that he would oppose its application to business as a whole, to private business?

COMMISSIONER O'CONNELL: Yes.

MR. HAYES: Now, I entirely disagree with Mr. Gompers upon that point. I don't believe there are any considerable number of unions, none at least that I can call to mind, that would oppose a general national sweeping eight-hour law to extend to every man, woman and child in the country engaged in industrial work, any more than they would on the minimum wage question.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: The matter is a little confused in my mind, so that when Mr. Gompers comes back on the stand he should be asked the question by counsel straight out. Then we will not need to go into the difference, if any, of the recollection of the Commission on the matter. Now, as I take it, the question has been fully answered, that Mr. Hayes is in favor of legislation limiting the hours of labor of the workers wherever it comes from, and that his observation has been that the American Federation of Labor likewise has taken that position.

MR. HAYES: No, the American Federation of Labor has not, to my knowledge, gone on record in favor of a general eight-hour law to be enacted by the National or State government covering the entire industrial field, but merely so far as it related to employes of the Government, National, State and local.

MR. THOMPSON: Is the American Federation of Labor committed to a programme of hostility to legislation in favor of the working classes?

MR. HAYES: No, sir, it is not.

MR. THOMPSON: As a member of the American Federation of Labor you would say that the natural tendency of that body would be to sympathize with and to help the passage of legislation leading to the improvement of the condition of the working class?

MR. HAYES: Oh, yes, certainly. The American Federation of Labor has always stood behind anything in the nature of progressive legislation.

MR. THOMPSON: In other words, in the political field as well as in the industrial field the American Federation of Labor stands for progressive programmes so far as the workingman's interests are concerned; is that correct?

MR. HAYES: Yes, sir. The only objection I have is that it does not go far enough.

MR. THOMPSON: I understand that. I just want to get the general lines laid down here so that the Commission may understand it. Now, Mr. Hayes, with reference to the limitations, you heard Mr. Gompers say that the American Federation of Labor places no limit on the demands it may make from time to time with reference to wages or hours, or rather, with reference to getting a larger share or, perhaps, the whole share of the product; is that correct?

MR. HAYES: Yes, sir. I believe he expressed the general opinion. In fact, I was very pleased to hear him make that admission.

MR. THOMPSON: Would not that be the natural position of the American Federation of Labor? It must be that position.

MR. HAYES: I cannot see how it could take any other position if the thing is put up squarely to the membership.

MR. THOMPSON: Mr. Chairman, I am through with the witness.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Any questions?

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: Yes; I would like to ask Mr. Hayes a question or two. It may not have a direct bearing on the testimony, but I want to get an understanding myself of a certain phase here, because you take a somewhat different ground from any exponent of your faith that I have seen. Bear in mind, I am not affiliated with either side, the A. F. of L. or the Socialist Party. Do I understand that you regard the trade union movement or, to narrow it somewhat, the American Federation of Labor, as the proper form of machinery for realizing such benefits as can be gained for the workers from day to day without waiting for the success of this or that improvement that might be brought about by political action, while at the same time, in your character as a citizen, you believe that the Socialist Party is the proper form of the expression of your legislative beliefs and the means for securing the same? Am I interpreting your meaning right or not?

MR. HAYES: Substantially. I would like to amplify that to some extent. I regard the American Federation of Labor the legitimate, recognized, organized industrial movement on this continent. It is not perfect. But my contention is that the American Federation of Labor is broadening from the purely craft or trade form of organization into an industrial form. There are at least a dozen international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor that are industrial in their character,—as the Miners, the Brewery Workers and other bodies. The Machinists only recently broadened out. They are now talking about merging three of the garment working trades into one complete union. And right on that point I take issue with the accusations made by representatives of the I. W. W. They laid such particular em-



phasis upon this point that it appealed in a large measure to many Socialists the country over, I mean the charge that the American Federation of Labor had neglected the so-called common labor. I happened to have a debate with a representative of the I. W. W. on this subject in Seattle last November, and challenged him to produce the proofs of this accusation. And I showed by the records and the figures, which I expected President Gompers to submit to the Commission yesterday, but probably he overlooked,—that one union, the Hod Carriers, had a larger increase last year in membership than the entire membership of the I. W. W. is to-day. The United Mine Workers and Brewery Workers include thousands upon thousands of unskilled, so-called "common laborers" in their ranks.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: Then the American Federation of Labor has organized more unskilled workers than the I. W. W.?

MR. HAYES: Most certainly.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: Then on the former question virtually you, as a citizen, are a Socialist?

MR. HAYES: Yes, sir.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: As a worker you are a trade unionist?

MR. HAYES: I am.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: Now, one further question. I would like to ask your opinion on the difference between the American and the continental Socialist movement. Is it not true that continental Socialism is more a movement of citizens than of workers, on account of the disabilities they labor under as citizens which hamper them as workers?

MR. HAYES: It don't make any difference between the workingman and the citizen; they are one and the same. You cannot separate them.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: Does he not bear the dual relation——

MR. HAYES: He does bear a dual relation, yes, sir. As a Socialist he is affiliated with the Socialist Democratic Party or the Labor Party or the Independent Labor Party, according to whatever country he lives in, and likewise he is required to associate himself with a trade union.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: Well, would you not draw the same distinction in regard to him that you did with regard to yourself, that politically he would be a Socialist and in his capacity as worker, a trade unionist?

MR. HAYES: Yes, sir.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: So the two would be blended there as is unnecessary here to a certain degree, would they not,—I mean as an absolute necessity for their betterment?

MR. HAYES: Yes. Each carries out its own functions; they are separate organizations. Likewise there is a third agency called the Co-operative movement. It is a tri-partite agreement practically.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: That is all, Mr. Chairman.

COMMISSIONER BALLARD: You say that the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party both want to take a larger share of labor's production?

MR. HAYES: Yes, sir.

COMMISSIONER BALLARD: And they want finally to take it all?

MR. HAYES: Undoubtedly. Wealth should belong to him who produces it. The workers produce the wealth, and consequently they should own the wealth.

COMMISSIONER BALLARD: As soon as they become sufficiently powerful numerically they would simply take it, whether those to whom it belonged wanted to give it up or not?

MR. HAYES: I am not prepared to say just how they are going to acquire it. If I had my way about it they would certainly take the railways and the mines and

the steel mills and other great monopolies and operate them under control of the government and probably we would hire Brother Rockefeller as business agent of the oil division of the government, or Judge Gary as manager of the steel department; but they would have to be workers.

COMMISSIONER BALLARD: In other words, you would put men in charge of the different departments who you thought could handle those departments, no matter what their previous condition had been?

MR. HAYES: Oh, yes; they would be superintendents.

COMMISSIONER BALLARD: I gather from the I. W. W. that they want to do the same thing, except they would resort to force immediately to take it as soon as they felt they could, and the Socialist Party does not propose quite that just yet?

MR. HAYES: The Socialist Party believes in organizing workingmen politically in order to secure control of the law-making machinery, and doing it legally. The I. W. W., as I understand it, expects to accomplish it by so-called direct or mass-action. I do not hanker for that sort of propaganda, because it would necessarily injure the working masses—millions of individuals.

COMMISSIONER BALLARD: That is all, Mr. Hayes.

MR. HAYES: There is just one point, Mr. Chairman, on which I would like to say something.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Very well. You may state it.

MR. HAYES: That is, with reference to the discussion here yesterday about the minimum wage. The minimum wage proposition has never been acted upon authoritatively by the American Federation of Labor. I do not believe, with President Gompers, that the American Federation of Labor,—though he probably has a right to speak for the American Federation of Labor, while I have not,—is committed against the minimum wage. There has never been, to my knowl-

edge, any discussion on the question of a general minimum wage law in any convention of the American Federation of Labor or in the International Unions in this country. The matter has been up for discussion in State conventions and in local bodies. For example, in the State of Ohio, at the Constitutional Convention in 1912, a minimum wage amendment was submitted to a referendum vote. It received the support of the labor men in that Constitutional Convention—Socialists and trade unionists—about a dozen members of the convention. From there it went to the people of the state and it was endorsed. The minimum wage proposition or the amendment to the constitution of the State of Ohio was endorsed generally by organized labor of that State. There is a movement now on foot in the State of Ohio to secure the enactment of a minimum wage law, but not on a basis prescribing \$3.00 or \$3.50 or \$4.00 as a minimum wage, but in line with the constitutional provisions requiring the appointment of a Commission to examine four times a year the living conditions that exist in the larger cities. They have to consider the cost of living: Rent for a six- or seven-room house, clothing, food and other immediate necessities. Upon the basis of such cost of existence, whether it be \$3.00 or \$5.00 or \$4.00 a day, the wage will have to be paid, if the law is passed, which is now being initiated and will be submitted to a referendum vote in the next year or two. Undoubtedly other states will copy it, as they have our Workmen's Compensation Law. By the way, there is another point I want to touch upon in just a few words. That the Workmen's Compensation Law in Ohio was drafted and prepared by a Socialist, Harry D. Thomas. He has since died. But he was probably more thoroughly acquainted with legislation pertaining to compensation laws than any other man. He prepared the data and submitted them to an attorney entirely in sympathy with the idea, and went to the

legislature, and there it was adopted, and it was likewise adopted as an amendment to the constitution. So much for the charge that the Socialists are inactive in the matter of securing legislation for the betterment of the workers to-day, to-morrow and the next day. We are always at it.

COMMISSIONER BALLARD: Just one point, you are in favor of government ownership of public utilities, as I gather—railways and other public utilities?

MR. HAYES: Yes, sir.

COMMISSIONER BALLARD: Well, in the experience of those states where that has been done, do you feel that the administration has been better than where it is in the hands of private corporations?

MR. HAYES: I believe so, all things considered. Germany's railways are government-owned and operated. They have been cited as an example, and those opposing contend that they are not a success. But when you take into consideration the fact that they were nationalized in order to beat back the rising tide of Socialism, and are operated by people who are opposed to Socialism, you will realize that many economies could be introduced that they refuse to. They were primarily taken over for military purposes, as a matter of fact. I might cite other examples of railways, but I am simply coming to the point that was emphasized by Mr. Mellen in his examination in Washington the other day, that it is either a case of private monopoly or government-owned railways; and I prefer government ownership to private monopolies. That is all.

COMMISSIONER LENNON: Mr. Hayes, do you believe that the application of the principles of Socialism would solve finally the problem of the distribution of wealth, or is it a step in the evolutionary progress of the race?

MR. HAYES: Oh, it is a step, of course. The next step in our evolution as a race. Centuries ago we had

the condition of slavery, then we evolved into feudalism, then into capitalism. Now we are going towards Socialism, and I might say, on this point that ten years ago, when we discussed Socialism, we were confounded with Anarchists and bomb-throwers, while to-day we have reached the point where we are almost respectable. Most people think they know something about Socialism, and perhaps they are becoming a little Socialistic themselves. So that when my friend Gompers tries to ridicule the Socialist movement, he had better be careful, because he doesn't know what will happen in the next ten years. He accuses the Socialists of having purloined some of the demands of the trade unions. He might have said that the Bull Moosers stole some from the Socialists; the Democratic stole some, and probably the old Mossback Republican Party may have grabbed a few of our planks. One thing they won't steal, and that is the collective-ownership plank.

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MORRIS HILLQUIT, recalled as a witness herein, further testified as follows:

CHAIRMAN WALSH: You may proceed, Mr. Hillquit, and answer anything that you see fit within the time limit; answer any part of what has gone before in the testimony of Mr. Compers or Mr. St. John.

MR. HILLQUIT: At the outset I desire to answer two questions raised by Mr. Gompers in his testimony. The first refers to the character of the Compensation Act which the Socialists in the City of New York drafted and prepared some years ago. Mr. Gompers' statement was to the effect that it contained a demand for the appointment of a Socialist as member of the proposed Commission and also for an appropriation of one million dollars by the State of New York. The draft in question was not of Socialist authorship exclusively. It was prepared by the Socialists in conjunction with representatives of the labor organiza-

tions of the City of Greater New York, that is, the organizations of the American Federation of Labor in that City. When adopted, it represented the local sentiment of the American Federation of Labor as well as that of the Socialists. It made no requirement for the appointment of a Socialist on the Commission. It did, however, contain a requirement to the effect that the Commission be largely composed of accredited representatives of organized labor. As to the million dollars appropriation, I don't recall it; but I may say that if it provided for the sum of one million dollars to be appropriated by the State of New York for the purpose of organizing a proper machinery for the administration of a workmen's compensation system, the demand was exceedingly modest. The State of New York, with its population of ten million or more, the State of New York, which appropriates sixty million dollars for improvement of canals and to help trade along, should consider it a mere pittance to allow one million dollars to save the lives and limbs of its one million and a half industrial employes, and, Mr. Gompers, I believe, should be the last man in the world to find it exorbitant.

Mr. Gompers has also stated that the Socialist representative in Congress, Victor L. Berger, had voted to sustain the veto power of the President of the United States. That statement I wish to deny. The Socialist Party directly requires by its platform the abolition of the Senate and of the veto power of the President. Of course, the question of sustaining the veto power of the President never came up in Congress. What Mr. Gompers is pleased to construe as such a vote, was, no doubt, a vote or votes on two measures, which Mr. Berger considered reactionary and opposed to the best interests of the workers. He voted against the measures. The President of the United States happened to share his conception of it and vetoed the bills after the majority had voted in

their favor. The bills then came up a second time, and they were still as reactionary and as bad as ever. Mr. Berger consistently voted against them. And that is all there is to his voting to maintain the veto power of the President of the United States.

This by way of rebuttal. And now I shall say a few words by way of summary on the relations of the Socialist movement to the American Federation of Labor. Since the method of mutual cross-examination has brought out a good many, but not all the conclusions, I shall add this briefly.

First of all, the matter, it seems to me, is one of very large importance. The American Federation of Labor and all other organized workers within or outside of the Federation represent about three million persons. The Socialist Party at the last Presidential election polled almost one million votes. We may legitimately assume that for every male voter there is a female non-voting Socialist sympathizer, and, taking the men and women voters and non-voters we may conservatively estimate the number of persons in the United States who support the Socialist philosophy and programme to be likewise about three millions. The relation between those two powerful factors in the industrial and political world, seems to me, of importance, and I wish to state, for the benefit of the Commission, the public at large, and the working class particularly, that whether for good or for evil, the Socialist movement and the organized economic labor movement must be considered ultimately as one. Born of the same conditions, having consciously or unconsciously the same aims and objects, and leading to the same result. The Socialist movement aims to secure to the workers the full product of their labor and, by the same token, to deprive the idlers of their unearned part of the general national product. It stands, then, for the nationalization of industries; for the collective ownership of means of operating those in-



dustries. The labor movement, it appears very clearly from Mr. Gompers' statements, stands likewise for an ever increasing share of the product to be given to the workers; for an ever decreasing share of the product to be left to the non-workers, and Mr. Gompers admitted that this process has no limitation and will not stop before the entire product of the work is turned over to the working class as a whole. Thus, you see, substantially and ultimately, the two movements stand for the same thing. The distinction is mainly one of the degree of consciousness. The Socialists proceed upon a general social philosophy. They have thought out the thing, they have asked themselves where it leads to, they have drawn their conclusions and formulated them in the Socialist programme. The trade union movement, on the other hand, as Mr. Gompers himself stated, is not concerned much with ultimate ends or social philosophies. It works for immediate ends, but those ends lead eventually to the same point. There is also no great merit in the distinction between political and economic functions. The demand to abolish child labor in a certain shop or a number of shops, or to introduce an eight-hour workday in a certain shop or in a number of shops, is economic if made by the workers in those shops on their employers. The same demands stated broadly for an entire industry or an entire division of the working class, and being formulated by way of legal enactment, becomes political action. And it is just because the Socialist stand for the larger aspect of the movement that their activity is more political, and it is because the labor unions, while standing on the same basis, do not have the larger vision that they consider their activity primarily economic. As to the ultimate result, the two do not differ much from each other. I make that statement to avert any misunderstanding as to the attitude of the Socialist Party toward the American Federation of Labor.

What Mr. Hayes has said here is not his individual view. It is the view of the Socialist Party at large. The Socialist Party is absolutely committed to a policy of friendship to organized labor, and unequivocally recognizes the American Federation of Labor to-day as the main representative of organized labor. The little tilt I had with my friend, Mr. Gompers, was very largely individual and directed not against the American Federation of Labor, but against certain conceptions and policies of the present leadership of the American Federation of Labor. The attitude of the Socialist Party to the American Federation of Labor as such, as distinguished from its leadership, is absolutely friendly, and the criticism which is directed against its present leadership, is also of a friendly nature.

I shall mention these criticisms briefly. In the first place, the Socialists believe that the leaders of the American Federation of Labor fail to recognize the drift and trend towards industrialism in organization. Now, mind you, we don't say that the American Federation of Labor is not developing in that direction. It is. But what we do say is that the development is not aided consciously by its leaders, because the leaders fail to understand the importance of it. The present leaders of the American Federation of Labor fail to see that industrial conditions to-day are not what they were in 1881, when the Federation or its predecessor was organized. Mr. Gompers placidly told here on the stand that the American Federation of Labor had originally adopted a plan and system of absolute autonomy of trades and had rigidly adhered to it. If it actually had, it would not be a subject for praise, but one for severe criticism, because industrial development has not stood still within the last thirty years. Industries to-day are more inter-related, more interwoven, more organically connected, than they were in 1881, and if the workers are to keep pace with

them and be in a position to meet their employers and their organizations, they must organize accordingly. The example cited by Mr. Gompers, that of the State organizations and the Federal Government of the United States, does not apply at all. That is purely political. And industry cannot be so separated from its parts as one State may be separated geographically and arbitrarily from another. Now, we recognize, however, that the American Federation of Labor is tending toward ever greater industrial organizations. We fully approve of the report which Mr. Gompers offered in evidence here before the Commission and favor the extension of industrialism within the American Federation of Labor. We only wish that the leaders of the Federation had been clear-sighted enough to see the tendency and to co-operate with it and help it along more assiduously.

Another point of criticism we have is this, that the American Federation of Labor does not seem to understand the significance of the agitation which has assumed the name I. W. W., and here I want to make this statement: The Socialist Party has no sympathy with the methods of the Industrial Workers of the World, none whatsoever. You have heard the testimony of the representatives of that organization. We regard their methods as absolutely ineffective and childishly inadequate. But the "Industrial Workers of the World" means more than the fourteen thousand men organized in Mr. St. John's organization. It means a certain new spirit in the American labor movement. It means Lawrence, it means Patersons. It means Little Falls, it means McKeesport Rock. It means this new phase of the labor movement which has arisen within the last few years. How are we to account for it? How does the American Federation of Labor account for it? It is not a mere accident. There must be some cause underlying it. Nothing is produced without causes. The causes, as we Socialists see them, are briefly stated as follows:

First, the development of machine industry has made skilled labor a less and less important factor, and unskilled labor a more important factor in this country. It has attracted a different type of immigrants, who have come here by millions, who have no right of citizenship, are unorganized and poor beyond description, and who have no means of civilized resistance or welfare. It has created a new class within the working class, and has led to the spontaneous unorganized and frequent violent outbursts which we designate by the general phrase, "I. W. W. revolts." These revolts are not explained by calling the I. W. W. names. They represent a new phase in the labor movement, and the American Federation of Labor should have taken cognizance of it by making more strenuous efforts—it has made honest efforts, I admit—but it should have made more strenuous efforts to organize these men and to acclimatize them, and, if you want, to Americanize them and make them part and parcel of the American labor movement.

On the question of politics Mr. Hayes has said a good deal, and, in view of my limited time, I shall not take it up. But I wish to say a few words on another subject of criticism, and that is the relation of certain leaders of the American Federation of Labor to the Civic Federation. The Civic Federation is an organization founded by employers for the purpose principally and primarily of deadening the aggressive spirit of the American labor movement, and I think it is succeeding marvellously. Mr. Gompers has stated here that the National Civic Federation has no membership, and that he is not a member of it. Since he is to follow me, I should like him to answer these few questions:

First, if the National Civic Federation has no membership and anyone who happens to come in has a voice in the choice of officers, would it be permissible for me and, say, a hundred of my Socialist friends

to go to the next meeting and to vote in the election of officials? If it were, we might be tempted to try it.

Second, if the National Civic Federation has no membership, it has, presumably, no dues. It maintains an elaborate office. It pays salaries to a secretary and a large staff of workers. It has various departments. It spends very large sums of money. One of the features of its activities is a very lavish annual banquet. I should like to know, Mr. Gompers, where that money comes from? Does the American Federation of Labor contribute any part to it, and if it does not, who does? And if it is all contributed by our capitalists and their friends in the National Civic Federation, I should like Mr. Gompers to say whether, in his opinion, such contributions are made solely and singlemindedly for the benefit of the workers?

I am now ready to answer questions.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: There has been one point that has not been brought out here at all from the standpoint of the Socialists and on which I would like an expression. What is the attitude of the Socialists toward the means of economizing industrial waste caused by strikes? Do you look on the Erdman act—I am citing the only Federal enactment—as a desirable means of settlement of labor difficulties?

MR. HILLQUIT: The Socialist Party has not expressed itself on this subject. The Socialists on the whole regard a strike as a necessary and inevitable evil—an evil inherent in the present system and which no amount of legislation can curb or change. In other words, we believe that there is a case where we would agree with Mr. Gompers and say, "Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts," if the legislature were to enact or offer to enact any measure tending to prevent strikes and to substitute other methods of settlement of labor disputes. For what that might mean would be that whereas the workers in well-organized industries to-day have that last resort, the strike, by which

they may enforce their demands, that weapon would be taken away from them by legislative enactment.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: You are aware of the origin of the Erdman Act?

MR. HILLQUIT: Not very well.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: I will say here that the Erdman Act was pressed largely by the Railway organizations. Do you regard a purely voluntary settlement as represented by that Act as a desirable agency—bearing in mind that your views as expressed with regard to the strike are exactly my own—to minimize the times when it becomes an absolute necessity?

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, if it can be done without sacrifice to the workers.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: Or without pressure?

MR. HILLQUIT: Without pressure and without sacrifice of the interests of the workers. I would, of course, prefer, as a rule, to avoid strikes rather than to incur strikes.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: You are also familiar with the successor of the Erdman Act, the Newlands Act?

MR. HILLQUIT: In a general way.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: Are you familiar with the conditions that led up to its adoption?

MR. HILLQUIT: I am not.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: You don't know what function the Civic Federation performed in that?

MR. HILLQUIT: I do not.

COMMISSIONER GARRETSON: I am not on the witness stand.

MR. HILLQUIT: No. But there is only one point, Mr. Garretson, in which again I would like to quote my friend Gompers with reference to the Civic Federation. I would say, "Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts."

COMMISSIONER O'CONNELL: The closing paragraph of instructions under which this Commission is cre-

ated, reads: "The Commission shall seek to discover the underlying cause of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation and report its conclusions." If you were a member of this Commission, what would you state as your opinion to be the cause of the industrial unrest?

MR. HILLQUIT: That would be an exceedingly easy task for me. I think the National platform of the Socialist Party gives a perfectly clear statement of the causes of the unrest, the ultimate remedy, and the immediate remedy applicable to-day.

COMMISSIONER O'CONNELL: What would be the immediate remedy?

MR. HILLQUIT: The immediate remedy would be the adoption of the various planks in the platform of the Socialist Party which I yesterday had the pleasure of reading to Mr. Gompers and to which he gave assent in practically all cases. That would be the immediate remedy.

COMMISSIONER O'CONNELL: What would you assign as the cause of industrial unrest?

MR. HILLQUIT: The private ownership of the tools for the production of the things which all men need to sustain their lives.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Now, I have a couple of questions that I am going to submit to you and ask you if you will give them some sort of answer in writing.

MR. HILLQUIT: Yes, sir.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: We will give it whatever publication we can, but I will ask you to give it some thought, and I will ask you to hand it in. In addition to the interests of the capitalists, and the workers, tending to range them in opposition to each other, is there not a sense of justice existing in some minds that inclines them to act without regard to class interests; and, second, are there any prominent capitalists in the Socialist Party?

MR. HILLQUIT: The answer to both is "Yes." It does not require any study.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Very well, that is all then.

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SAMUEL GOMPERS, recalled.

MR. GOMPERS: Whenever any utterance is made by me that may be a declaration of a principle or a purpose with which the Socialists differ, they have no hesitancy to misrepresent and misquote me. On the contrary, the very emphasis which I may give to any particular point will simply be distorted again in order that the misrepresentation may be continued. On the subject of an eight-hour law I have said that we have worked for the establishment of the eight-hour work-day by law for all employes of the Government, whether National, State or Municipal, and for all employes of contractors or sub-contractors who do Government work. An eight-hour day for all Government employes, because the Government is then the employer. An eight-hour day for minors, and for woman workers. But I am opposed to the statutory fixing of the hours of labor for men, and I gave the historic achievements of the working people of the United States, true, only partially, but yet achievements secured by the workmen through their own initiative, through their own collective action or by agreement with employers. Now, in the limited time at my disposal, unless any further questions are asked me, I should like to take up some things that have been said. First, the construction placed by Mr. Hillquit upon the statement which I made in answer to one of his questions as to membership in the Civic Federation. I omitted to say, "Dues-paying membership." Answering his question of this morning I should say that the National Civic Federation exists by the voluntary contributions of those who agree to contribute in furtherance of any thought or purpose that they may have in mind. I want to call your attention to the



studied effort of Mr. Hillquit to call that Association the American Civic Federation, with the avowed effort frequently made by the Socialists, and as evidenced by his questions to me upon cross-examination, to confuse the American Federation of Labor with the National Civic Federation, and to use the term as the associates of Mr. Hillquit so frequently use. They often refer to the American Federation of Labor by the supposed title of the American Civic Federation of Labor. The difference is between practice and pretense. The pussy-footed Socialist, Mr. Hillquit, before this Commission, is not the same kind of Socialist before the world. (Laughter in audience.)

It may not take a man five minutes to ask questions, which it would take hours, and sometimes weeks, to answer. That there may be no question on this matter, let me quote from Mr. Morris Hillquit, member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, one of its ablest and most sophisticated exponents of Socialism in this country. In the Metropolitan Magazine for July, 1912, he says:

"Stated in more concrete terms, the Socialist program requires the public or collective ownership and operation of the principal instruments and agencies for the production and distribution of wealth. The land, mines, railroads, steamboats, telegraph and telephone lines, mills, factories and modern machinery. This is the main program, and the ultimate aim of the whole Socialist movement and the political creed of all Socialists. It is the unfailing test of Socialist adherence, and admits of no limitation, extension or variation. Whoever accepts this program is a Socialist, whoever does not, is not."

In fact, in all their platforms, immediately following their so-called "Social Reform" program, will appear the frank avowal quoted below, this one being

taken from the platform of the national Socialist convention in Indianapolis; in June, 1912:

"Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come into their rightful inheritance."

Mr. Chairman, I have here a number of quotations, which I should like to have incorporated as a part of my statement, which I do not care, at this time, to read in my time.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Very good. Just give them to the stenographer, and they will be identified and put in as part of your statement.

MR. GOMPERS: As to the suggestion of making more strenuous efforts to organize the unskilled workers, the American Federation of Labor, during the entire year, devotes more of its time and more of its revenues, more of the efforts of its officers, organizers and representatives, to the organization of the unskilled workers, than to any other one thing. It is physically impossible to make more strenuous efforts in any cause than are made in that direction by the witness before this Commission at this time, and who is made the principal object of attack by the Socialists here and elsewhere. There is no man—I don't care who he is—who works harder and more consistently and persistently in the effort to organize the workers, in the effort to improve their conditions, in the effort to secure, to firmly rivet, the rights to which the toilers of our country are entitled; and to the suggestion by one who is in the ranks of the Socialists, that more strenuous efforts should be put forth, comes with ill grace. After all, what is "skilled" and "unskilled"? It is all a matter of graduation. There are some men who say that they work with their heads. My answer to that is, so do hogs. The matter of gifts and

powers and responsibility entering into their work are required in any field of wage labor. What would you call the ditch digger, what would you call the hod carrier, the laborer? What would you call the conductor on a street railway? What would you call a street railway motorman, a man who will acquire the ability to operate a car in the course of six or eight or ten hours, and is entrusted after that with the operation of the car? The fact of the matter is, that for a long period of years the Socialists have had the open sesame to the people of Europe, who speak languages other than English, and the minds of the foreign speaking workmen have been poisoned against the American Federation of Labor, and, as a consequence, many of the workmen from other countries in which languages other than English are spoken, come here with minds prejudiced and poisoned against the American labor movement, and they start out what they regard as their own movement.

Now, before I get deeper into this question, let me say that I quite agree with Mr. Hayes' statement that, after all, the quarrel is among us, our dispute is among us, the working people, and we are fighting it out as best we know how. Men who are Socialists belong to the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Hayes is a member of the International Typographical Union, and I think at least he will agree with me in this, that in the conventions of the International Typographical Union he has as much say as any other member or delegate. In the conventions of the American Federation of Labor he has as free a throw to express his opinion as any other man.

And I want to call your attention to this one fact, that, during the period of preparation of the International Typographical Union for the inauguration of the eight-hour workday, and in the face of the possibility of a strike being inaugurated for its ac-

complishment, Mr. Max Hayes, the Socialist, was tactful enough to declare that Socialist policy and Socialist philosophy must not be injected into the trade union movement, at least during the period of that controversy. And I held with him. But where his was a temporary limitation, mine is an absolute one. It is not necessary to make more difficult the strenuous struggle of America's organized workers with their terrific enemies and powerful employers.

The other point of difference particularly lies, and I want to emphasize it, in the constant attempt of Socialist speakers and writers to belittle the achievements of the organized labor movement of America. Their argument is that, even after you increase wages, it does not do any material good. It is simply so much effort wasted. The effort of the Socialist Party is to divert the attention of the American working people from the immediate needs and from the immediate struggle to something remote. If the working people of America can be made to believe that they can secure the relief they need, the improvement which is justly theirs, the freedom which they ought to have, by casting a vote once every year, wherefore join in the unions engaged in the every-day struggle to improve material conditions now? It is the position of the man who preaches from the pulpit that the working people are in the position God ordained, and that they will have a better time in the sweet bye and bye. And it is the same with the Socialists, who paint a beautiful picture of a future, luring the workmen from the immediate struggles to the hopes for the future. It is the idea of men being diverted from the immediate struggles and immediate needs for the natural, rational development of the human race; and securing day by day, and week by week, and month by month, and year by year, a little to-day, a little to-morrow, adding, adding, gaining, gaining, moving forward, always a step in advance, and never taking one receding

step except it be to plant the foot forward firmer than ever before.

I would not want any man to believe that our movement is satisfied. There is not anything satisfying in what we have accomplished. It is gratifying but simply whets our appetite and desires for better and better and still better things.

My time is running away from me, and there is so much to say, and yet I cannot help, but must take cognizance of the explanations which Mr. Hillquit made for Mr. Berger in voting to sustain the President's veto in the House of Representatives.

You know that the Congress of the United States, using the nomenclature of Socialists, is a capitalistic concern. The Congress of the United States passed two measures amended by the American Federation of Labor, and that is:

1. For a better regulation of immigration into the United States; and
2. An appropriation bill in which was contained the demands made by the American Federation of Labor.

It was that appropriations contained in that bill should not be used to prosecute men or women of labor in their effort to raise wages, shorten hours or to improve their working conditions. I grant that that was not a fundamental law and that it was not so far-reaching, but capitalist Congress passed it at the request of labor, and Mr. Victor Berger, the only Socialist member of Congress, voted first against the proposition itself, and then when the President vetoed it, he, as the representative of this great party of labor, voted to sustain a President in that veto; and let me say that the idea of a man of democratic tendencies, much less a pronounced Socialist, voting in favor of sustaining the veto of any President upon any measure is contrary to the principles of democracy; for

the Presidential veto is nothing more than an inheritance of the exercise of the royal prerogative.

COMMISSIONER O'CONNELL: What was the second?

MR. GOMPERS: The other bill, Mr. O'Connell, was a bill to regulate immigration to the United States, which every man realizes is necessary, no matter what differences there may be as to the degree of regulation and limitation. There is a general agreement among the people of the United States that some regulation and limitation is necessary other than that which exists to-day. That bill passed the house of Representatives and the United States Senate by overwhelming majorities, and then came to the President. The President vetoed it, and Mr. Berger voted to sustain the veto, and was one among the minority which stood in the way of securing the two-thirds vote to pass the bill over the President's veto, an action which should not only damn the man politically in his own party, but in the eyes of every democrat in the best sense of that term, and not in its party sense.

The American Federation of Labor has always been striving to get the workmen to organize and to unite, to fraternize, and to make a common cause as best you can; to have their agreements terminated as near as possible, about the same time, so that new joint agreements of one industry or kindred trades might be made under the best conditions with the employers.

May I call attention again to the report of the Executive Council to the Rochester Convention on the question of industrial unionism. The report of the committee upon that subject, which was adopted by the Convention, was submitted to Mr. Hillquit upon the witness stand, and he could express no dissent from it. Yet, this morning he said that we have not reached, and are only reaching that goal from which he himself could not dissent.

In regard to the Workmen's Compensation bill, let

me say this: "That there are now representatives of labor as Commissioners on that commission, and since Mr. John Mitchell was appointed a Commissioner, he has been stigmatized by the Socialist press and speakers as a faker, a four-flusher and a fraud upon the American workmen. Mr. James Lynch, the Commissioner of the Department of Labor, formerly President of the International Typographical Union, has been denounced time and again as a faker, four-flusher and fraud, an imposter upon labor, a misleader. Let the trade union movement anywhere in the country nominate a labor man for any position, such as, for instance, the Board of Aldermen, the State Legislature, or Congress of the United States, and the Socialist Party will antagonize him. Why, Mr. Frank Buchanan, former President of the Bridge & Structural Iron Workers' Union, a candidate for Congress in Chicago, Ill., was antagonized by the Socialist Party. In the last election when he was running for re-election, Mr. Victor Berger came from Milwaukee, neglecting his own district, in order to defeat Frank Buchanan as a member of Congress. That is the instance that comes to me just now.

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\* The "trade union" candidates for political office referred to by Mr. Gompers are not candidates nominated by trade unions and running as labor representatives. They are candidates of the Democratic or Republican parties, who happen to hold union cards, but are pledged to the conservative platforms of the old parties and take orders from those parties. They are used by the shrewd politicians as decoys for the thoughtless labor vote. In the state assemblies and in Congress they represent not the interests of the workers but those of the employers, who dominate the old political parties.

The activities of such men tend to confuse, mislead, and sometimes even to corrupt the labor movement, and the Socialists quite properly oppose them at the polls. The Socialist Party itself most frequently nominates union men for public office, but then the candidates run on a distinct labor platform and are entirely free from the domination of any capitalist political party.

I am simply thinking aloud. It is not just one instance; there is no deviation from their course. As I say, it is the difference between the pretence made here and the practice which obtains throughout.

I remember, Mr. Chairman, one question that I did not answer, and to which I now desire to address myself. That is, in the establishment of so-called big unions, "one big union" for labor.

First, we had the National Labor Union. It was the first general organization of labor. Then came the Rochester Convention of the National Labor Union. And I can recommend to every student, and particularly do I recommend to Mr. Hillquit, the reading of the Declaration of Purposes of the National Labor Union, which met at Rochester, somewhere in the sixties, and he will find that the declarations of "immediate demands" contained in the Socialist Party; the immediate demands upon which he questioned me yesterday were more fully, amply and ably set forth by the National Labor Union than by the Socialist Party, who purloined all this stuff from us.

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\* The history of the National Labor Union is fully treated in my "History of Socialism in the United States," first published in 1903. The National Labor Union was organized in Baltimore in 1863 and remained in existence until 1876. Its radical and class-conscious declaration of principles was largely inspired by one Edward Schlegel, a German Socialist of the Lassalleau School. Under the leadership of William H. Sylvis, one of the keenest minds and noblest characters produced by the American labor movement, the organization adopted the policy of independent working class action in politics and formed the "National Reform Party," in 1868. Unfortunately Sylvis died suddenly in 1869. The National Labor Union fell into the hands of weak and over-conservative leaders, who sought alliances with old-party politicians. This policy eventually brought about the dissolution of the first general organization of American labor. In my turn I strongly recommend to Mr. Gompers the study of the history and the fate of the American Labor Union.

M. H.



The Knights of Labor, the Western Labor Union, the American Labor Union, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and the Industrial Workers of the World,—I have no right to make any choice as to which is the better; I believe the statement of each of the representatives of the I. W. W., when they speak of the other I. W. W.

And now, as I said, Mr. Debs is engaged in a movement to destroy the American Federation of Labor; and I am not misquoting him, I am not misrepresenting him—these are his direct words, and if you care, I should be very glad to submit them to you.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Please submit them, because, Mr. Gompers, you have just three minutes left.

MR. GOMPERS: Then I want to refer to this "one big union." There is not anything that could be more disastrous to the interests of labor than the establishment, if it could be established, of a so-called "one big union." There are differentiations in all human activities. Perhaps no better comparison can be cited than the military force on the battlefield and in the preparation for battle, and the organized labor movement on the industrial field. In the military establishment of this or any other country, each corps of men are doing their particular work, know when that work is to be done, and how to do it, and each works with the other upon the best accepted understanding of the purpose which the army is to achieve. The tactics change, and they have changed now from what they were, ten, fifty or one hundred years ago. And so has the labor movement. Yet it is organized scientifically upon the basis that each is to do a particular thing at the particular time, and that each accomplish and in the whole accomplishes their great purposes. But now imagine the infantrymen and the cavalrymen, the men on the horse were all thrown in together. What would occur? The worst thing which could occur to such an army would be to order a

movement of any kind—to advance or retreat. The only safety for them would be to stand still forever and anon. And so with the labor movement. The labor movement organized in a trade, in a calling, in an industry, with its departments such as have already been established, the coalition of each with the other, each helping the other to do the best thing that can be done for the one specific purpose of best protecting the men and women of labor, and the children of our time, to promote, to help them promote their best interests, now and for the future, neither treading upon the other, all trying as best they can in the light of their intelligence, in the light of their experience, in the light of the plans formulated by themselves and those chosen to speak for them, well ordered, rational, democratically-governed, as such the movement of organized labor of America will lead to the attainment, as it has already led to the attainment of the highest possible conditions of life, and to the conscience that shall demand as well as give to every human being the rights, the liberties of the better civilization to which we are constantly tending and for which we are striving.

## WHY VICTOR BERGER VOTED AGAINST THAT "RIDER" TO THE SUNDRY CIVIL BILL.

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In answer to the criticism of Sam Gompers, I have the following to say:

I voted against the "rider" to the sundry civil bill (not to use any of the money of the appropriation for the purpose of enforcing the Sherman anti-trust act against trade unions and agricultural organizations), because I considered that amendment a cowardly and dishonest make-shift that meant nothing.

And for the following reasons:

First—This provision would only apply to criminal proceedings. But criminal prosecution has never been brought under the provisions of the Sherman act against a trade union or a farmer organization until this provision was passed that was supposed to protect them. I said at the time that the "rider" was a swindle because, under its provision only this particular fund could not be used for the criminal prosecution of a union. But if the government really would desire the criminal prosecution of some union, the money could simply be taken from some other fund. The government has all kinds of funds at its disposal. President Wilson has pointed that out himself when later on such a bill passed under his administration. Yet he signed the sundry civil bill with the "rider," so that Sam Gompers could say that the Democratic Party had done something for the trade unions.

Second—While the sundry civil "rider" apparently seemed to exempt labor organizations from prosecution, that act did not prevent private persons or corporations from bringing suit against unions and union men to recover damages caused by strikes and boycotts. Therefore, if that "rider" had been in force at the time the

Hatters' Union in Danbury was sued for damages, it would not have given the workmen any protection whatsoever.

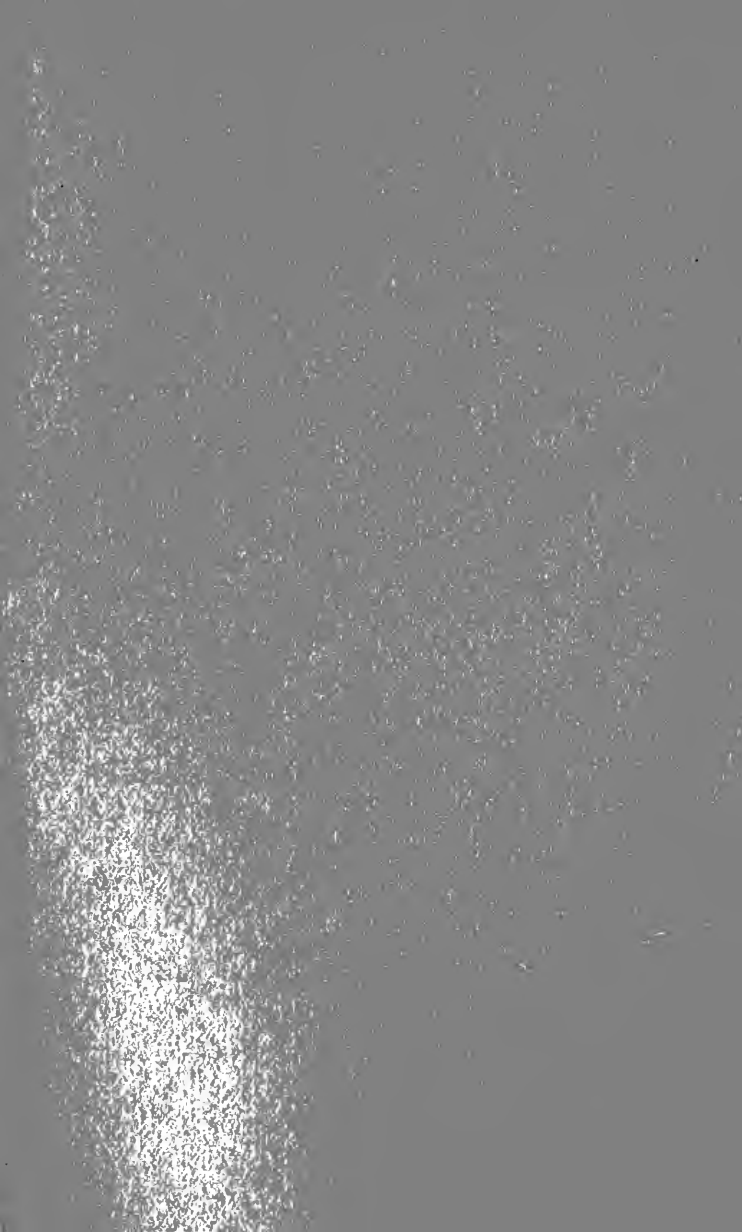
Third—The exemption clause—being a “rider” on an appropriation bill—ceased to operate as soon as that particular appropriation expired. That means the exemption could hold good for only one year at best—even if it could accomplish what the Gompers lobby claimed it would accomplish. The whole affair was simply a bare-faced attempt to make the uninformed union men believe that the expensive Gompers lobby in Washington was doing something for them.

The Socialists are not in the business of busting trusts. And we are not asking for any special exemption from the Sherman act.

We oppose all anti-trust legislation. As a matter of principle, therefore I, Victor Berger, Socialist, while in Congress, introduced a bill based on class-conscious political action, providing for the repeal of the Sherman act altogether and for the enactment of honest, sensible and really progressive legislation in its place. This would benefit the people in general and the working class in particular. I did not feel that I was under any obligation to assist Mr. Sam Gompers in his trades and deals with the capitalist parties or in his attempts to blindfold trades union voters.

Victor L. Berger.





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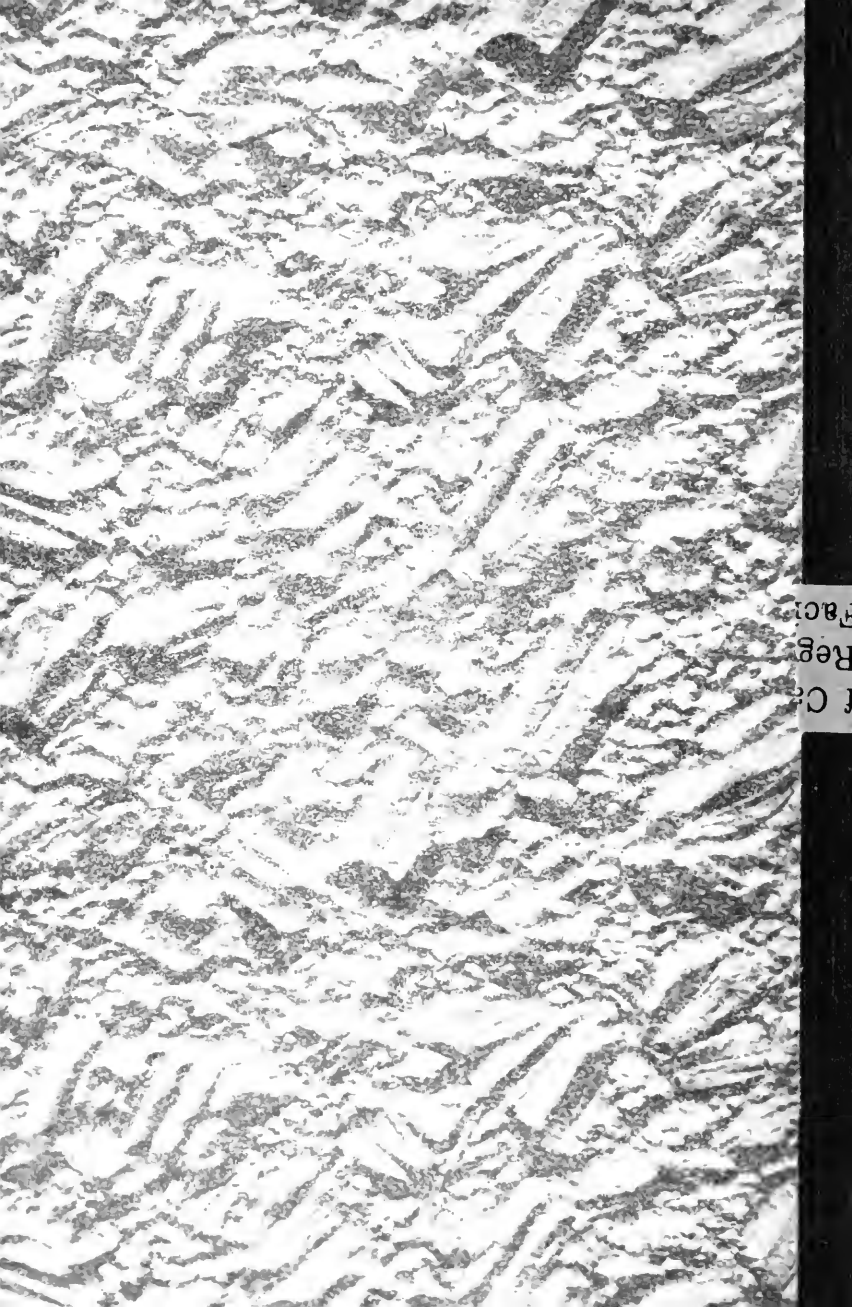
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